UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE IMPACT OF SPONSORSHIP: THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA'S RURAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM, 1936-1945

BY

ROSABEL FAST ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

IN

ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT, CAREER AND TECHNOLOGY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1991

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ISBN 0-315-70047-5

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DEGREE: Master of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1991

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DEDICATION

To Bob who has an unusual ability to encourage and to his wife who supported me throughout.

ABSTRACT

This study traces the influence of sponsorship on the development of the Adult Education Office. This program of rural adult education was sponsored by the University of Manitoba, under whose auspices it was organized, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York who provided the funding. The program, consisting of study groups, drama and handicrafts, was established in 1940 and serves as a case study of a program that resulted from the Canadian adult education movement of the 1930s and 40s. The Canadian Association of Adult Education was integral to the movement and played an important role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office as well. The role of adult education was generally defined in one of two way during this period and both were represented among the sponsors. These were adult education for social change, which was characteristic of the adult education movement, and education for its own sake, which was often associated with social conservatism. This study demonstrates how the directors of the Adult Education Office were able to counteract the conservative aspects of sponsorship influence, and to implement a program according to their own well-defined social interpretation of adult education. The support of the university's president was a key to their success. The program participants had their own view of what adult education was to be and do and further shaped the program accordingly. The study concludes that, although the influence of the sponsors on the ultimate shape the program was significant, it was far from exclusive. The well-defined philosophies of adult education held by the sponsors, directors and participants was significant in their ability to shape the program accordingly. One of the main legacies left by the sponsors was that a program of rural adult education should be sponsored by a university. The study concludes with a question how appropriate this was.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express sincere appreciation and special thanks to:

My supervisors, Dr. Denis Haughey and Dr. Brian Titley, for their time and expertise.

The men and women who shared their fascinating recollections of rural wartime Manitoba with me.

My many friends and family members, without whose interest and support this project may never have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

The Adult Education Office was a program of rural adult education established by the University of Manitoba in 1940. As was typical of the period, the project was funded by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This innovative and ambitious project, consisting of study groups, drama and handicrafts, is the subject of this study. Although it only lasted until 1945, the program was significant as a product of a vital period in the history of adult education in Canada. It was during the 1930s and 40s that adult education took off as a self-conscious movement in this country, and the Adult Education Office serves as a historical case study of one the many programs that resulted. The program also represents the first attempt by the University of Manitoba to establish an extension department.

The subject of this investigation was treated as "total history," a term used by Tosh[1] to describe the current trend in historical research of searching for, and compiling, a complete contextual picture of a historical event from the social, political and economic perspective, not only of the more prominent societal groups and central institutions, but also of ordinary men and women whose history has traditionally been ignored. Thus, this study explores the experiences of the program's participants as well as of its administrators and includes the influence of the social, political and economic context on these experiences.

The initial purpose of most historical research is to faithfully reconstruct the past. This is usually followed with an interpretation of the events of the past, which was also the case in this study. Further, even as brief a history as that of the Adult Education Office cannot be examined in all its facets. Therefore, in order to provide an interpretive focus for the study, the question oriented approach was adopted. This means that the history of the project was investigated with a specific a question in mind: to what extent did sponsorship shape the program of the Adult Education Office? By implication, this included the question of what other factors were involved in shaping the program that developed, was addressed as well.

According to Tosh, focusing on a specific historical question can result in moving too quickly toward an answer without gaining a full understanding of the issue.[2] Therefore, a flexible approach, in which the relationship between the question and the sources is one of give and take, was applied to this study. The narrative style of this work that evolved from the research process, accommodates its two-fold purpose of addressing a central question or theme while describing a program that typifies an important period of history.

Taking an early lead from the sources resulted in the researcher's expanding the meaning of "sponsorship" from her original intention of defining the term as the funding agency. In this work, the term is used to include the individual or agency that provides the resources to make a program possible, including the institutional or organizational framework through which the program is implemented. Closely related to the theme of sponsorship of adult education is that of definition which, in this work, is interpreted after Torres as "a comprehensive understanding of what adult education is to do or accomplish."[3] This is similar to one's philosophy of adult education. The term "adult education" is used in the context of the period to include the broad range of activities of an educational nature engaged in by men and women of adult status, but excluding programs leading to academic credits.

Also of particular pertinence to the time period and to the program under investigation, are three types of adult education. The first, for which the term "liberal adult education" is used, can be described as education for its own sake or for the stimulation and development of the adult mind. The second, which in this work is labeled "social adult education," was at the heart of the adult education movement and therefore most pertinent to this case study. The purpose of adult education, according to this definition, is to bring about social change and at the time this often meant structural change of the political and economic system. A third interpretation of adult education was also "social" in nature, and was concerned largely with economic change and community development. "Economic adult education," as it is referred to in this study, most commonly meant education for the establishment of economic structures such as credit unions or co-operatives and a variety of practical community projects such as hot school lunches, local health units, recreational facilities and so on. The distinction that adult educators of the day made between economic and social adult education was often one of scope. While the latter focused on local, national and international issues, the social change advocated in the former often did not extend beyond one's immediate environment.

The interaction between the goals of the sponsors and the definitions of adult education held by those who implemented the Adult Education Office contains part of the answer to the question addressed in this study. The expectations that participants had of an adult education program, and the impact that these men and women made on the university project is a second factor to be considered. At the same time, the sponsors, implementors and participants each functioned within a social, political and economic context which also played a role in the shaping of the Adult Education Office. This included the Depression, the second world war and several related social movements of which the adult education movement was one. The interaction among these various influences comprises the body of this study.

The history of the Adult Education Office, or even of the extension program of the University of Manitoba, has not yet been well documented. The one major work on the subject is of a biographical nature rather than an account of the Adult Education Office. Michael Welton, in To Be and Build a Glorious World: The Educational Thought and Practice of Watson Thomson, provides an extensive contextual biography of the program's director, Watson Thomson, and describes the Manitoba project at some length.[4] This is done from the perspective of the educational and political theory of its director and offers an exclusively administrative point of view. The work also omits most of the drama and crafts activities that were part of the program. Welton recounts some of the same material in three shorter articles: "A Most Insistent Demand: The Pas Experiment in Community Development,"[5] "'On the Eve of a Great Mass Movement': Reflections on the Origins of the CAAE,"[6] and "The Life and Times of Adult Education in North American Liberal Democracy."[7] The Adult Education Office is also mentioned, but not described, in One University, W.L. Morton's history of the University of Manitoba.[8]

Welton's work is an excellent secondary source of background information, but an in depth examination of the Adult Education Office required the extensive use of primary sources. Historical research of type used in this study consists mainly of dealing with the primary sources that contain the information needed to fully understand the topic under study. The process involves locating all possible relevant sources, assessing them for reliability and then piecing together as accurate an account of the subject under study, as possible. The Sidney Smith Papers, which contain official and personal correspondence, reports, minutes and other information pertaining to the Adult Education Office, comprised the major source of information on the project from the administrative perspective. Other minor archival sources were examined for information about the context within which the program was implemented. Minutes of the University of Manitoba board of governors and annual reports of the Manitoba Department of Education were too abbreviated to be of much value, but supplied some useful facts. The annual reports of the Carnegie Corporation of New York provided information about one of the sponsors, Frederick Keppel.

These sources, although rich, did not include the experiences of program participants. Information at this level was obtained largely from interviews with seventeen men and women who had either participated in the program itself or had other pertinent recollections of the period. One local newspaper, containing a firsthand account of the program as it was implemented locally, was also useful. The written archival documents which were examined in the first phase of the research provided some initial clues for locating subjects for interviews. Others had to be tracked down through whatever leads could be found. A recent newspaper article, featuring a man who had participated in the Adult Education Office, newspaper reporters who suggested names of community members who might have useful information and senior citizens who helped locate other seniors who had participated in the program are some examples of leads that were followed to locate the group of individuals that was interviewed. The six communities described in chapter five were selected partly as a result of the availability of local information and partly for the variety of locations they represented.

Throughout the process of examining all applicable or available sources, it is essential that the information that is gathered be accurate. This calls for a knowledge of the historical context of the sources and an insight into human nature, on the part of the researcher. A certain amount of common sense must be applied to the sources, including a healthy scepticism about the motives that lie behind any spoken or written word. Besides the researcher's familiarity with historical context and ability to be objective, the sources themselves must bear each other out. In this study, annual program reports, correspondence among directors and other leaders, local newspapers articles, other documents and personal interviews were compared, and balanced against each other, to determine the reliability of the information they contained. In this way, the activities of the Adult Education Office were reconstructed and interpreted. Despite the researcher's attempts to employ methods to ensure the reliability and validity of the sources, it is possible that some inaccuracies may have occurred.

The nature of this work is such that it touches on many subtopics that could not be dealt with in any great detail, and this was not intended. Instead, the various associated aspects of the Adult Education Office were included, in an effort to provide a more complete understanding of the program. Neither is this work an attempt to address the question of the relationship of sponsorship and definition to adult education, in general. Rather, the definitions held by the various individuals involved in the program, and the role of the sponsors in the developmemt of the Adult Education Office are explored in order to provide a historical context for modern adult educators who are dealing with these issues. In this way the study should make a contribution to the field.

In conclusion, the purpose of this study was to examine a specific project from many perspectives, and so to gain as complete an understanding of it as possible, within the parameters of a central theme. Although the project itself was short lived, the Adult Education Office serves as a case study from which information can be inferred about the larger adult education scene during this time period, and about the affect of sponsorship on the shape of a program. When set in its context, the history of the Adult Education Office also begins to tell the story of adult education in rural Manitoba and in the province's largest university.

The context of the Adult Education Office is described in chapter one. Chapter two deals with the sponsors and their goals and philosophies. The project itself, together with the definitions of adult education held by its implementors, is the subject of chapters three and four. Chapter five recounts the story of the project again, this time from the participants' perspectives, and describes the ultimate shape of the program as it was implemented in rural Manitoba. Implications of the study and suggestions for further research are made in the concluding chapter.

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

1. John Tosh, The Pursuit of History. London: Longman, 1984. p. 90.

2. IBID, pp. 49-50.

3. C.A. Torres, "International Perspectives on Adult Education," in The Alberta Journal of Educational Research. Vol. 34, No. 3, September, 1988, p. 201.

4. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World: The Educational Thought and Practice of Watson Thomson, 1899-1946," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1983.

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7. M.R. Welton, in "The Life and Times of Adult Education in North American Liberal Democracy," International Journal of University Adult Education. Vol. 30, No. 1, April 1991.

8. W.L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba 1877-1952. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1957.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT

In order to understand the effect of sponsorship on the shaping of the Adult Education Office, one must understand the nature of the adult education movement of which it was a part, as it developed within the economic, social and political context of Canadian society. The movement lasted from 1928 to 1946, but its roots go back as far as the close of the nineteenth century. During this period Canadians experienced a serious depression at the turn of the century. This was followed by the first world war, which meant the sacrifice of thousands of Canadians lives but resulted in short term economic relief in the twenties. A second, nation-wide, decade-long depression in the thirties was accompanied by the additional hardship of a drought in Western Canada, and finally a second world war occurred only twenty years after the first. Responding to these conditions was a series of social movements which had a direct bearing on the Adult Education Office.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL MOVEMENT

The social gospel movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the first of these, and the precursor of two others. It was also at the base of all the key players in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office. The Carnegie Corporation of New York and its president, Frederick Keppel, the University of Manitoba with its board and president, Sidney Smith, and the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) and its director, E.A. Corbett, whose role in the sponsorship is described later, all had social gospel roots. To some degree the Manitoba political and adult education scene, and the adult education movement itself, also proceeded from the social gospel movement.

Social gospel was a Protestant, middle-class response to the urbanization and industrialization that was creating serious social problems at the turn of the century.

Allan describes social gospel as a reform movement that was also a religious manifestation, which imbued it with an authority it would not otherwise have possessed.[1] Urban slums, alcoholism and working conditions in factories were such that social reform came to be viewed as essential to the Christian religion. By the end of the nineteenth century, many saw social action as a religious rite, and the church gave increasingly more direction to reform. Canadian social gospel was a mixture of British labour and socialist influence with American modifications, set in a Canadian context.

That the movement was conservative by nature was evidenced by the belief among all social gospellers that in the family as they knew it and in a democratic government lay two essential elements of a society to which Jesus pointed people.[2] For the most conservative social gospellers, the concept of personal sin was associated with social conditions, and was accompanied by the fear that the evils now concentrated among the poor would spill over into their own society. This group used acts of legislation, the temperance laws being one example, as a method of social reform. The tendency of American foundations, of which the Carnegie Corporation was one, to direct their grants toward conservative ends during this period of reform is discussed in the following chapter.

To the far left of the conservatives was a group of religious radicals who believed that there could be no personal salvation without social salvation or of bearing the cross of social struggle.[3] Labour leaders were well represented in this group, including such men as J.S. Woodsworth, who later became the first leader of the CCF party. These reformers were also part of the social gospel movement.

Between these two extremes lay a large centralist group who advocated a broad ameliorative program of reform.[4] In Canada a group of agrarian reformers, who comprised a social movement of their own, found that such a centralist interpretation lent itself well to their cause. They were well represented in this segment of the movement.

Social gospel reached its peak of influence during the war and by the mid-twenties the movement had spent itself. The Great Winnipeg Strike of 1919 and the printers' strike in Toronto in 1921 were two results of the movement that convinced both church and business that they could not live with the outcome of their own reform. The strength of the conservative legislative branch of the movement ebbed when the temperance movement failed in the mid twenties. At the same time the radical branch became secularized. Although the movement was spent at this point, its influence lived on. Elements of it resurfaced during the Depression and lived on in other forms of agrarianism.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

Progressivism, as the farmers' movements came to be called, was the second social movement to serve as a context for the Adult Education Office. It was an economic revolt of farmers as well as a political movement which culminated in the formation of the Progressive Party in 1921. Having developed parallel to the social gospel movement, it was also religious in nature. Allen explains the connection.

> ... the social gospel belief that in the rise of such movements true religion and genuine democracy were triumphing together in the modern world, contributed to the Progressive party's sense of being something other than a traditional party, and of fulfilling something more than a political role.[5]

Henry Wise Wood, well known and influential progressive leader in Alberta, was a social gospeller who pointed farmers to the church for social as well as personal salvation.

The progressive movement was influenced by new British and American immigrants, who brought with them socialist thought, and a background of populist movements and third party alternatives respectively. A key factor behind the movement was a perceived inequity in the marketing of agricultural products in the national system of trade. The high cost of land, elevator charges and interest rates, wartime conscription of farmers' sons, post-war inflation and the disbanding of the Wheat Board which had provided temporary price stability, were all seen as part of an exploitative system that favoured eastern industry. Protective tariffs for eastern products, which the ruling Liberal Party was unwilling to repeal, formed the focal point of dissatisfaction among farmers.[6]

Progressivism was more than an agrarian economic movement. It was also a political revolt against a perceived ruthless professionalism of the two party system. As Morton observed, at the heart of progressivism lay an innate mistrust of elected representatives and political parties, and a predilection for direct legislation and for proportional representation.[7] Henry Wise Wood was a doctrinaire progressive, who hoped to transform party politics through a type of non partisan "group government" in which members of the legislature would be organized in occupational blocs and govern as one body.

A second group advocated the idea of a third party alternative as a means of reforming the system. This group comprised a number of insurgent Liberals who were opposed to the tariff, and wanted to recapture the control of their party. Under their influence the Progressive Party was created in 1920. Thomas Crerar, former Liberal Minister of Agriculture, became its first leader. In 1921 the Progressives won 65 seats in the federal election, making them the official opposition to a minority Liberal government. At the provincial level Alberta and Manitoba elected Progressive governments in 1921 and 1922 respectively. While the latter experienced a long life, the federal party refused to adopt the status of official opposition and was unable to act cohesively as a party. By 1926 a small group of radicals, known as the Ginger Group, was all that remained of the party. The most radical Progressives joined the CCF in 1932, and the conservatives attached themselves to the Conservative party in 1942.

Manitoba Progressivism and Adult Education

Although the progressive movement had ended nationally, it lived on in Manitoba until after World War II. Here the political and non political aspects of progressivism, represented by the provincial government and the Manitoba co-operative movement, enjoyed a harmonious relationship, to form the immediate setting of the Adult Education Office. A description of the Manitoba context, of course, would not be complete without mention of the war and the aftermath of the Depression. In 1942 Sidney Smith described these conditions:

> [A]ttitudes and cultural standards have been, and still are affected by the decade of drought and depression. Though more conservative politically than Saskatchewan, and not as eccentrically radical as Alberta, the Manitoba farmers have been stricken in morale from the depression. Morale has risen slowly.[8] [9]

Like the farmers of the province, Premier John Bracken is remembered neither for his radicalism nor his eccentricity but he did earn the respect of westerners as a voice for their cause during the Depression. Bracken was called to the premiership from his position as principal of the Manitoba Agricultural College after the Progressive victory of 1922. Neither he nor his cabinet had any political experience at the time, but after a difficult beginning, Bracken held the premiership for twenty years. Bracken's party went through two mergers during his premiership, although the party remained essentially progressive in nature. Even when Stuart Garson succeeded Bracken in 1942, the government continued to operate much as it had when the United Farmers came to power.[10]

Typical of the farmer governments of this period, Bracken believed that party politics had no place in the running of the province. Although the majority of Manitobans appear to have been satisfied with Bracken's non partisan approach, contemporary historian W.L. Morton had the following criticism of Bracken's non partisan style of government:

> Grass roots democracy, first articulated in the demand for direct legislation, had prevailed by making the representative a delegate of his constituency and by making the Executive Council a composite committee responding to the direct voice of the constituencies rather than to the collective opinion of the representative assembly.[11]

The second characteristic of the progressive era in Manitoba was a highly monetary minded government. For Bracken, the United Farmers' victory was a call to economic government, which would set the devastated provincial finances aright. The method he used was one of reducing expenditures and increasing taxes; Kendle describes the premier's attitude.

> He [Bracken] never failed to point out in the late twenties that within three years of assuming office his government had put the province on a pay-as-you-go basis, had established a sinking fund, and had generally provided the type of businesslike government that the people of Manitoba had demanded.[12]

This was the approach that the premier maintained throughout the thirties. Prior to the war, municipal governments were entirely responsible for relief payments, and many of them were unable to meet the demand. In 1933 Manitoba requested federal assistance for relief payments, to which the prime minister responded that assistance would be forthcoming only after the provincial budget was balanced. That Bracken managed to comply exemplified his monetary style. By 1935, after imposing heavy taxes and expenditure restrictions on the province, his budget balanced. Unlike British Columbia and Alberta, which were in similar financial straits, Manitoba was a federally minded province that continually sought to co-operate with the unsympathetic policies of the federal government.

Bracken had one other approach to dealing with the Depression, namely ongoing negotiations with the federal government for reform. He argued that since the Depression had resulted from federal policies which favoured eastern industry, the East had an obligation to assist the West during times of economic stress. As long as Bennett was prime minister, the only concession Bracken achieved was a promise to match provincial and municipal expenditures to a ratio of 50:25:25. This was a small victory considering that municipal and provincial coffers were empty.

In 1937 a somewhat more sympathetic Mackenzie King commissioned the Rowell-Sirois commission to study the sticky question of provincial-federal responsibilities in these matters. Bracken again argued for a more equitable system, through an extension of federal taxation powers, to generate the funds for provincial assistance. Bracken's recommendations found a place in the commission's report, but to his dismay the report quickly became redundant. Premiers Hepburn of Ontario, Aberhart of Alberta and Pattullo of British Columbia rejected its recommendations. The latter two did so for fear of losing provincial power, and Hepburn had maintained from the beginning that each province should bear its own burdens and manage its own finances. Having hoped all along that he would not have to deal with the issue during the war, King was content to let the matter rest.[13] Meanwhile westerners struggled to survive the Depression.

In summary, the political and economic setting of the Adult Education Office involved a Progressive, non partisan, administrative provincial government that was facing severe economic difficulties. The general public, however, seems to have been supportive of the government's efforts even though they meant little relief. When war was declared in 1939, Manitobans supported the war effort wholeheartedly. In the 1942 plebiscite, in which 60% of Canadians supported conscription, Manitobans voted 80% in favour. This was characteristic of the federally minded Manitoba, but war efforts also meant the opportunity to again become employed, and so escape the oppressive conditions of the Depression. This was particulary true for young farm folk.

Rural Adult Education in Progressive Manitoba

There is no doubt that educationally speaking, rural Manitoba was a neglected place during the thirties and forties. Rural public schools were regularly described as operating below acceptable standards by local inspectors in their annual reports to the Department of Education.[14] Neither did adult education, as defined previously, have a high profile. In a manner typical of the Progressive government, the Deputy Minister of Education stated the position of his department for both rural and urban adult education as follows: "The Department was thoroughly interested in adult education, but felt that the greatest contribution could be made by remaining in the background and giving every support possible."[15] In 1935 a national survey of adult education, known as the Sandiford Report, listed a great variety of programs in Winnipeg, but reported a dearth in rural areas. This situation was apparent in the membership of the Manitoba Association of Adult Education (MAAE), which was created the same year and had urban representation from handicraft groups, museums, libraries, radio, home and school associations, music societies and study groups.

Only the latter had rural representation.

This is not to say that rural adult education did not exist, or that the government was uninvolved. The Department of Agricultural Extension, together with the government-owned Manitoba Agricultural College, had a well developed educational program for farmers and farm women. Although significant, these were almost entirely vocational in nature. In 1939 the government became involved - at least indirectly - in a more expansive form of farmer education through the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture (MFA).

The progressive movement of the 1920s had resulted in electoral victories for the United Farmers, but many who were part of the movement felt that it had meant the loss of their role as the voice of the farmer. In 1935 this group reorganized as the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA).[16] Its provincial counterpart, the MFA, was formed in 1939 to serve as a coordinating body for all the co-operatives in Manitoba, and to unify and strengthen the interests of rural people throughout the province.[17]

The MFA also played an important role in community life through a program of adult education. John Friesen, MFA director of Adult Education, gave this rationale for its educational component.

> In order to maintain and to increase the new interest in farm organization, the constitution of the Federation called for the stimulation of an active interest in the co-operative movement and a knowledge of co-operative principles and practice, both as a way of doing business and as a way of living and working together in town and country.[18]

Although technically independent of the government, the MFA was very closely associated with it. The MFA study group committee was appointed by the provincial government and was supported (in 1941) to the tune of $5000. The ministers of Education and Agriculture were members, and Fawcett Ransom, secretary of the educational program of the government-owned Manitoba Pool Elevators, was the chairman of the MFA study group committee. And in the minds of the people, the Pool Elevators and the MFA were interchangeable terms. The Department of Agriculture also provided study guides for the MFA. Sid Ransom, a farmer from Boissevain who had been involved with the co-operative movement since its inception, explained the relationship as he perceived it. "We just happened to have a good sympathetic government in place to support what we were doing," is how he put it.[19] In this way the government of Manitoba, although it had a stated policy of wishing to remain uninvolved in the field, actually had a program of rural adult education in place. The MFA program was implemented and developed simultaneously with that of the University of Manitoba, and its presence must be considered as part of the context of the Adult Education Office. The MFA provided communities with a play lending library, an MFA songbook for community singing, a folk dancing booklet, special programs for young people and women, and a recreation booklet for assisting with entertainment given by MFA locals. It also had two programs that were specifically educational in nature, study groups and folk schools.

A study group was defined as "a group of five to ten persons who meet weekly to discuss questions of common interest with a view to finding solutions to their common problems."[20] Its emphasis was on study for action, such as the formation of municipal health units, cold storage lockers and of course the organization of co-operatives and credit unions. The number of participants was impressive. In 1937-38 seventeen Pool Elevator study groups had been organized. This number increased to 58 the following year and was up to over 200 in 1939-40.

In 1941 the coming of National Farm Radio Forum gave new impetus to the study group program. Sponsored in part by the CFA, the Farm Forum was a series of radio broadcasts for farmers, designed for use in a study group setting. As local sponsor, the MFA provided excellent local supervision and the program was very popular. A total of 1900 members registered in 137 Farm Forum groups during 1941-42. In 1942-43 membership was down to 1200 but the number of groups had increased to 188. By 1944-45 the war had taken its toll on the population and membership was down to 657 members in 64 groups. At this point Farm Forum groups were combined with the other MFA study groups.[21]

The Manitoba Folk School was an MFA program for young adults between the ages of 15 and 30. It was one of several activities like summer camps, public speaking contests and youth study groups for MFA youth. In describing the origin of the folk school movement in Manitoba, Friesen explicated a phenomenon that was typical of other adult education programs of the period, including the Adult Education Office.

> Springing as much from economic causes as from a desire to improve the quality of living in rural communities ... [t]he growth of the Folk School Movement in Manitoba can be understood and appraised only when viewed against the social and economic background of the decade which preceded it.[22]

Farm living had lost much of its appeal for young people during the Depression and many of them escaped to the cities. With the outbreak of war, these numbers grew at a frightening rate, and the folk schools were established to combat the youths' disillusionment with farming. As a result of the limited opportunities they had had during the Depression, many of the young people were also undereducated and lacking in social skills.[23] The objectives of the folk school reflected its purpose of correcting these conditions. They were to: 1. awaken community consciousness, 2. teach the ability to express oneself in order to participate in community decision making, and 3. create an understanding for co-operative principles.[24]

The schools, based on a Danish model of local ownership, were held regionally, with several communities sharing the responsibility for each school and billeting the students. They were week-long, action packed community events. A typical day would begin with breakfast at 8:30 a.m. and end with singing and folk dancing after 9:30 p.m. Discussion groups using MFA study group materials, singing, recreation, kitchen parties (cooking and dishes), a daily ecumenical worship service, public speaking, films and Farm Forum filled the intervening hours. The schools always ended with a neighbour night, where the young people demonstrated their new found skills in public speaking, drama, folk dancing and other areas.

To summarize, Manitoba farm folk, at least those who were involved in the co-operative movement, had a fairly extensive selection of adult education programs to choose from when the Adult Education Office opened in 1940. Their choice ranged from study groups of a political or economic nature, Farm Radio Forum, community events with educational components, women's programs, folk schools and other young people's activities. Although the MFA was not officially sponsored by the progressively minded government, the two were closely related.

THE CCF MOVEMENT

In 1932 the radical members of the Progressive party joined the newly created Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The CCF typified the birth and growth of Canadian socialism, which was the third social movement - also with social gospel roots - that was part of the context of the Adult Education Office. Of the three, it was the most closely related to the adult education movement, which developed simultaneously and played a significant role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office.

Like progressivism, the CCF originated in a movement seeking social reform, and developed quickly into a political party seeking electoral votes.[25] Those involved in the movement were a complex mixture of doctrinaire socialists, adherents of Marxist socialist theories, intellectuals represented in the League for Social Reconstruction, and a group composed largely of farmers, who were looking for economic reform but were not well schooled in socialism. What this diverse group had in common was a recognition of the inadequacy of the present system to meet the basic needs of life, and of the need for a co-operative commonwealth to meet those needs.[26] The CCF was not purely socialist, and in places it was simply a new version of the populist progressive movements. But, by and large, it had the socialist characteristics of a belief that society was structured on a class system, with the power concentrated in the ownership class who were exploiting the working class. Hence they shared a healthy mistrust of the ruling class.

The CCF Party that was organized in 1932 was a coalition of socialists, Progressives and labour members. J.S. Woodsworth, who was one of the many radical social gospellers represented in the CCF, became its first president. The CCF was a democratic socialist party, which meant that its members believed in creating gradual change by taking advantage of the democratic parliamentary system. This method, they maintained, would result in a non-hierarchical, co-operative decision making system in which all citizens would participate. Such a system would ameliorate, if not abolish, class differences.[27] The main goal of the CCF was economic reform through the nationalization of key industries and the creation of a welfare state.

The popularity of the CCF party remained steady during the Depression, reached a fervor during the war, and then began to decline. In 1935 it captured seven seats and 8.9% of the popular vote in a federal election. In 1942, at the height of the war, it topped the Gallup poll as the most popular party in the country. The same year the party captured a critical by-election in York, in which former prime minister, Arthur Meighen, lost his seat to the CCF. By 1945 Mackenzie King was undermining socialism by talking reform, and the CCF obtained only 16% of the popular vote.

The rise and decline of federal socialism was duplicated at the provincial levels, and Ontario and Saskatchewan provided two examples. In Ontario, socialism had been unable to gain the support of either the United Farmers or labour, and Premier Hepburn's somewhat leftist approach to social change caused further decline of CCF support during the thirties. With the coming of the war the situation changed. In 1942 the York by-election was celebrated as a major victory by provincial CCF supporters; party membership increased dramatically and in 1943 financial support reached an all time high. Also in 1943, the party became the official opposition of a minority government in the provincial election. At this point the Ontario CCF party had reached the peak of its popularity.[28]

Caplan explains why a party, which was rooted in the social conditions of the Depression, reached the height of its popularity after the situation had improved.[29] Paradoxically, while the war brought with it a return to prosperity, Canadians lived in dread of a resumption of pre-war conditions with the return of peace. Meanwhile they were making great sacrifices for the war effort in order to save democracy, and the question they asked was: democracy for what? Such thinking resulted in a demand for a post-war world where economic depression and war would be impossible. This would require national planning, but government wartime measures had already demonstrated that this could be done. Many who yearned for a new and better world believed that the CCF was the only party with the solution, and the CCF successfully based its election platform on this belief. There were, of course, other reasons for the wartime popularity of socialism, but economics was the major one.[30]

The decline of socialism in Ontario was speeded up by a massive anti-socialist campaign that was launched by big business after the 1943 victory. Although it was blatantly propagandist in nature, it was most effective and Caplan cites it as one of the major factors in the decline of CCF support in Ontario after 1943.[31]

The rise and decline of federal and Ontario socialism was paralleled by the Saskatchewan CCF. Here the trend was illustrated by a shift in the CCF's education policy before and after its ascent to power in 1945. McKague explains that the policy, which was drafted in 1943, was clearly a socialist statement that went well beyond the popular progressive idea of education for social progress. As seen in the following excerpt, it was based on a belief that the present system of education fostered the maintenance of the capitalist system, which must be changed.

> If we are in earnest about changing our society in an orderly and peaceful way from monopoly capitalism to democratic socialism, clearly we shall have to transform the education system at least as quickly....we must teach [our children] to look critically at the institutions and practices of their country..."[32]

This radical policy was presented to the National Conference on Provincial Policy and approved unanimously in 1943, at the peak of Canadian socialist popularity.

In 1945 Tommy Douglas became the first CCF premier when his party won the Saskatchewan provincial election. Douglas was not a doctrinaire socialist, but instead he believed that his party should concentrate on alleviating economic and social conditions. To do so, it would have to maintain the trust of Saskatchewan voters. The education policy of 1943 did not lend itself well to this cause, for in the minds of the public, it implied the loss of control over their children in a state-run education system. As a result, says McKague, "[w]hat had been a far-reaching, philosophical, passionate and articulate statement of socialist and progressive principles of education [was replaced] by a prosaic, lifeless statement which offended nobody in the election campaign."[33]

Education was only one area in which Douglas diluted CCF doctrines as he moved quickly away from philosophy to implement an efficient government. Like the rest of the country, the Saskatchewan CCF experience illustrated the general trend of the rise and demise of socialist support in the country. The same trend was apparent in the Canadian adult education movement.

SOCIALISM AND THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The parameters of the Canadian adult education movement used in this study are 1928 and 1946 for reasons which become clear shortly. These dates are closely parallel to those of the socialist movement, so that it is perhaps not surprising that the two had much in common, and that the adult education movement is usually described as a social movement.[34] While it is true that creating social change - to various degrees of radicalism - was a goal of many adult educators during this period, this was not the nature of the movement itself. At its roots it was simply a movement of education, meaning that large numbers of people had come to realize that adults are able to learn, and that learning does not end after formal schooling is discontinued. The Canadian movement was fostered by its American counterpart, which began in the mid twenties and meant a widespread recognition of the necessity of lifelong learning, with an emphasis on liberal adult education. Any ulterior motive behind the spread of adult education in the American movement would have involved the maintenance of societal institutions, rather than the creation of radical social change. What made the adult education movement a social one in Canada was the fact that Canadians were already engaged in a socialist movement at the time that the American movement reached Canada. The relationship of the American and Canadian movements is described in more detail later.

The function of adult education in a socialist society was described by the CCF in 1942:

> [The] basic philosophy of even the liberal capitalist state has no place for adult education, with the result that adult education is only "toyed with" in bits and pieces under capitalist governments.
>
> ...
>
> By contrast an adult education program is an integral part of socialist society [which] is built on the concept that every individual shares in the control of the economic as well as the political life of that nation.[35]

The ongoing development of individuals - or adult education - was considered a necessity in a democratic socialist government in which individuals were to take their place in the nation's decision making.[36] This role made the field of adult education a natural one for socialists to gravitate to.

The socialist view of the function of adult education is useful for understanding the relationship between the CCF and the Canadian adult education movements. The Adult Education Office, although set in progressive Manitoba, was a product of the adult education movement and its director, Watson Thomson, was a socialist who viewed the program as a means to the transformation of a capitalist society. This makes it a classic case of socialist influence on adult education. To provide the context for the Adult Education Office, then, the adult education movement is described in terms of its relationship to the socialist movement.

Prior to 1928 Canada was socially, culturally and politically dominated by a relatively small, close knit, educated and well-to-do elite. These people were usually members, and sometimes founders, of various voluntary associations and clubs which were popular at the time. Adult education was largely in the hands of the church or these associations of the well-to-do.

Faris names three well known national associations that were influential in the early phase of the adult education movement.[37] The Round Table was the best known example of an imperialist type of association that looked to Britain for support and direction for Canada's problems. The Association of Canadian Clubs was a second type of voluntary association which sought to spread an appreciation for, and knowledge of, Canadian culture in the face of increasing American attractions. The

League of Nations Society, which later became the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA), was an internationalist association. Its agenda was to raise Canada's profile around the world and to make Canadians more aware of their international context. Members of the CIIA were usually in positions of public influence, experts on international business affairs, or employed in universities or the civil service. What all three types of associations had in common was that their members were influential people who believed they could achieve their goals through adult education.[38] This group normally favoured a liberal rather than a social form of adult education.

While these influential Canadians were involved in the cause of one club or another, farmers were organizing in the agrarian movements described above. The latter represented the second form of adult education prior to 1928. Many farmer groups were essentially conservative and economic in nature, but others, like the New Canada Movement, were socialist and existed for the purpose of transforming society. By far the best known and most influential of these groups in the field of adult education was one that came to be known as the Antigonish movement.

It began in 1928 in Nova Scotia as a community development project of several faculty members of St. Francis Xavier University, among poverty stricken fishermen, farmers and miners. In study groups, held wherever a place could be found, many in their own kitchens, these people learned how to help themselves through the formation of credit unions and consumer and production co-operatives. This form of adult education makes Antigonish representative of the social change element that was present in the early phase of the larger movement of adult education. At the same time, it became the basis for a department of extension at St. Francis Xavier, and the university received a total of $32,000 over a five-year period from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which normally funded educational projects, not social movements. These factors made the Antigonish experience one that could also be associated with liberal adult education.

The influence of the Antigonish experience on various forms of adult education was such that 1928, the year in which the movement began, makes an appropriate date for the birth of the adult education movement. The story of Antigonish was well known, and particularly dear to the hearts of co-operative groups such as the MFA. In 1938, ten years after the movement began, Donald Cameron, director of extension at the University of Alberta, addressed a meeting of the Manitoba Pool Elevators. He chose to speak about the lobstermen of Antigonish. After relating the story of how a group of them were able to co-operatively ship their catch directly to Boston, and receive $32.00 for it instead of the usual $9.00, Cameron concluded,

> Adult Education and lobsters! Why not? Education is only successful to the degree in which it can be related to the everyday problems and demands of life, whether that be economic, social or spiritual.
>
> ...
>
> It is only when democracy is interpreted in terms of jobs and living standards that the masses of the people will be shaken out of apathy to public affairs and public responsibility.[39]

This incident, in which a prominent adult educator from a university spoke to a progressive farmer's group on a topic of social adult education, illustrates the mixed nature of the adult education movement at this time, as well as the far reaching influence of the Antigonish movement.

The Canadian Association of Adult Education

In 1935 the AAAE sponsored a national survey of adult education activities in Canada headed by Peter Sandiford, and upon his recommendation, the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) was created the same year. This body was composed mainly of members from universities and Departments of Education, usually associated with liberal education. The purpose of the CAAE was to co-ordinate the various organizations involved in adult education, to promote adult education, and to serve as a clearing house for information on the subject. The CAAE provided a focal point for the adult education movement, and from here on the history of one was inseparable from the other.

Before 1935 social change groups and voluntary associations were equally represented in the adult education movement and the new CAAE had representatives from both groups. At this point E.A. Corbett, who became its first director, could have catered either to the interpretation of adult education held by the voluntary associations, or to the social interpretation of the other group. But this was 1936. The CCF party was only four years old, social change was in the air and, not surprisingly, the latter choice prevailed. After 1936 adult education was understood to be associated with social change in Canada. Corbett's role in the direction that the CAAE lent to the movement of adult education is described later.

After 1939 the social reform element that had been fostered by Corbett was intensified by the sobering, emotionally charged reality of war in Europe with its threat to democracy and to the lives of Canadians who would enlist. As a result, from 1940 to 1946, the adult education movement was characterized by a distinctive, radical, wartime philosophy, similar to the philosophy that dominated the socialist movement. The message of adult educators was that the sacrifices of war must not be wasted by a post-war return to pre-war conditions, and adult education must serve that end.

During this period the CAAE openly incorporated socialist doctrine into its philosophy, and those who saw adult education as a tool of socialism operated freely under its umbrella. Those members of the CAAE who held a different view of adult education temporarily took a back seat. The CAAE was involved in three innovative wartime projects that exemplified its wartime character, two of which were also part of the program of the Adult Education Office.

The National Farm Radio Forum

The idea for the National Farm Radio Forum originated with Corbett and it was jointly sponsored by the CAAE, the CBC, and the CFA. The series had a strong co-operative content, and several of the early planners and directors were socialists. Agnes McPhail, prominent CCF member, was on the planning committee and the first three national secretaries had all been members of the New Canada Movement. Whereas government-sponsored farm programs focused almost entirely on problems of production, the Farm Forum concentrated on problems of distribution and advocated concrete action to eliminate these problems. Because the government perceived a socialist economic and political content in the project, Prime Minister King had an experimental series of broadcasts curtailed in the planning stages.

In spite of these early difficulties, the Farm Forum proved to be most successful. For nine years, listening groups discussed issues and filed reports of their discussions with the local sponsoring agency. At the national level, membership increased steadily from 1000 groups in 1940, to 1600 groups with a total membership of 21000 in 1949.

The National Film Board

The National Film Board (NFB) was the second wartime project in which the CAAE was involved. In 1938 British documentary film making expert, John Grierson, was invited to Canada by the Canadian government to advise them on the use of documentary films. Grierson was himself a radical adult educator, who believed that "education needed revolutionizing if it was to become an instrument of revolutionized democracy," and that the documentary film was an ideal medium for such education.[40] Upon his arrival in Canada, Grierson invited a group of interested individuals to a series of meetings in Winnipeg on the use of documentary film. The group, which continued to be involved with Grierson, included Donald Cameron, Sidney Smith, E.A. Corbett and Donald Buchanan. In 1939 the National Film Board was created by an act of parliament and Grierson appointed commissioner.

With the outbreak of war, the NFB essentially became an arm of the Wartime Information Board (WIB), and the films it produced were largely for purposes of wartime information and propaganda. Grierson was made director of the WIB in 1943. In his combined role of radical adult educator, expert in a new technological form of adult education, and distributor of wartime information, Grierson was right at the centre of what the adult education movement had become by this time. A unique nation-wide distribution system of NFB films developed into an important form of adult education across Canada. During the war it was frequently under the supervision of socialist directors, as was the case in Manitoba, where the Adult

Education Office was very closely associated with the NFB.

The Height of Radicalism

By 1942 the CAAE, according to Corbett, had come to realize that the time to outline clearly and comprehensively a working philosophy of adult education had arrived.[41] In November a Special Program Committee was drawn up to prepare a statement to that effect, for endorsement at the annual convention of the CAAE. Corbett asked Watson Thomson to chair the committee. Other CAAE members with socialist leanings were represented as well and three democratic socialists also assisted in the deliberations.[42]

After six days the committee had drawn up a statement of philosophy which they entitled "The Manifesto." The document began with the declaration that adult education should be wholeheartedly put to use in creating and strengthening attitudes and understandings on which a new Canada and indeed a whole new world society could be founded. This new world order would be based on seven principles:

1. Total and mutual responsibility, both between persons and between nations, is essential.
2. Social controls and planning are a necessary expression of social responsibility. Public ownership should extend to enterprises essential to human welfare, and where individual enterprise is unable or unwilling to operate in the public interest.
3. Central planning must be combined with democratic principles.
4. Individual status should be determined by community service rather than social position, financial power or property rights.
5. Consumption goals (i.e. meeting human needs) rather than production goals should be the main incentive of economic life.
6. Social goals take precedence over individual purposes of profit in time of peace as well as war.
7. Neither individualism nor mass collectivism, but a relationship of voluntary co-operation is the basic pattern of the emergent social order. In the international sphere there is an obligation for a collective system of defense for the maintenance of world

peace.[43]

"The Manifesto" was ready for presentation at the London Conference of the CAAE in May 1943. The conference opened with introductory remarks by Corbett that were in keeping with the message of the document. He began:

> The Canadian Association of Adult Education has, it seems to me, a definite obligation to make clear its conviction that any return to a laissez-faire social and economic philosophy means a return to those social and economic disorders that must inevitably lead again to war.[44]

It closed with the unanimous endorsement of the "The Manifesto." At this point the adult education movement had reached its peak. In 1943 this coincided with the approval of the Saskatchewan CCF's educational policy, the York by-election, the height of CCF support in Ontario and the CCF's topping of the federal Gallup poll.

The Citizens' Forum

The work of the Special Planning Committee involved more than preparing "The Manifesto." It also entailed laying plans for a project through which its principles could be implemented. The project was a second radio series called Citizens' Forum, based on the format of Farm Forum. It was geared toward a more general audience and its purpose was to address issues of post-war reconstruction, which it did in a controversial manner that Corbett delighted in.[45] The Citizens' Forum was the third of the CAAE's wartime projects.

It has been described as having a less potent message of social change than the Farm Forum,[46] but in its intent it was the most openly socialist of any of the CAAE projects.[47] Isobel Wilson, national secretary of Citizens' Forum, acknowledged that the project emerged from "The Manifesto" as the medium for "a wholehearted campaign of public education."[48] Watson Thomson, who was a key planner, envisioned the broadcasts as providing a mass two-way communication system between government and citizens.[49] Both concepts have socialist implications.

The fact that the series again created major concern for the King government also speaks of its radical nature. Just before the first broadcast was aired, Brooke Claxton, newly appointed advisor to the King government, happened to see the list of speakers for the broadcasts. In his opinion it represented a "drastic loading in favour of the CCF" and he found the program to be filled with CCF jargon.[50] Claxton proceeded immediately to have its content radically altered, but in the face of a public outcry instigated by Corbett and the Citizens' Forum director, Neil Morrison, Claxton was forced to relent. King did manage to intercept the financing of the project, however. John Grierson had promised a start-up grant of $25,000 plus $10,000 annually for the project from the WIB, but when King found out about the promise, he angrily refused to support a scheme dealing with reconstruction which emanated from a non government source. The grant did not materialize and money had to be obtained elsewhere.

In spite of its bright beginnings as a mass communication system and a voice for true democracy, Citizens' Forum was not as successful as had been hoped. Its local sponsors were usually university extension departments, which did not provide the personal supervision that the CFA fieldmen had given to the Farm Forum. The broadcasts were also geared toward a less homogeneous audience which meant that it was dependent on the interest in the war for a cohesive focus. This meant that after the war, Farm Forum declined in popularity. It might also have been, as Wilson observed, that after the war people had had enough of serious matters, and were not interested in facing more problems.[51]

The Decline of the Adult Education Movement

The London Conference and the launching of the Citizens' Forum in 1943 represented the height of radicalism in the adult education movement. Although the field, which was still young, continued to grow and mature, a shift in emphasis had become apparent by 1946. At its annual conference that year, the CAAE issued a "Statement of Purpose" that demonstrated the nature of the change. This document, in contrast to "The Manifesto," stated that adult education must become a normal activity of a developing and healthy society and should be seen as a natural continuation of public schooling. Its task was to provide men and women with leadership skills, knowledge and the communication skills needed to direct community resources toward solving community problems.[52] Although this statement had social implications and pertained to community development, it contained no visionary statements of transforming society or altering political institutions. Instead, the concept of lifelong learning was now central to the purpose of the CAAE, which still held the position of leading the adult education movement. This brought Canadians closer to their American counterpart, which defined adult education as mainly liberal education, and makes 1946 an appropriate date for the close of the Canadian adult education movement.

The character of the movement as traced through the thirties and forties followed the trend of society in general. It was born out of the hardships of the Depression, reached a fervour during the war, and when economic conditions remained stable after the return of peace, the purpose of adult education shifted. Adult education, which had been a movement of a strong socialist nature, now reverted back to a mainly liberal type of educational focus.

CONCLUSION

Many of the leaders of the adult education movement were steeped in social gospel tradition. They also tended to be socialistically inclined and several were associated with the CCF, which had social gospel roots of its own. The Adult Education Office was part of both movements. The central branch of the social gospel also lay at the root of the progressive movement, the effects of which were still very much in evidence in rural Manitoba where the program of the Adult Education Office was implemented. Finally, a conservative form of social gospel thought influenced American philanthropic foundations, such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to fund educational projects that complemented their own conservative philosophy of education. How the Adult Education Office, which was sponsored as an educational project by the Carnegie Corporation, evolved during the most radical period of the adult education movement and developed within the progressive political and economic context of rural Manitoba, and how this affected the program and its participants, is the content of the following chapters.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 1

1. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," in Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada. Edited by S.D. Clark, J.P. Grayson and L.M. Grayson. Toronto: Gage, 1975. p. 45.

2. IBID.

3. IBID, p. 52.

4. IBID.

5. IBID, p. 57.

6. W.L. Morton, "The Western Progressive Movement, 1919-1921," in Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada. Edited by S.D. Clark, J.P. Grayson and L.M. Grayson. Toronto: Gage, 1975.

7. IBID.

8. University of Manitoba Archives, Sidney Smith Papers, UN20, box 50, folder 4 (hereafter UMA, UN20, 50-4), Sidney Smith to Robert Lester, 09 February 1942.

9. A look at farm incomes below, taken from the Rowell-Sorois report, gives good reason for the low state of farmer morale.

Farm Incomes in Manitoba 1928-1940

1928	$1,125.00
1930	546.00
1932	198.00
1934	359.00
1936	534.00
1938	577.00
1940	698.00

See John K. Friesen and John M. Parsey, Manitoba Folk Schools The First Ten Years: 1940-1950. Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1951, p. 11.

10. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

11. IBID, p. 385.

12. John Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979, p. 39.

13. James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

14. Annual Reports, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1934-1949.

15. UMA, UN20, folder 199-001 (hereafter 199-001), MAAE minutes, 31 July 1936.

16. John Friesen and John M. Parsey, Manitoba Folk Schools, pp. 12-13.

17. IBID.

18. IBID, p. 13.

19. Interview, Sid Ransom, 27 January 1990.

20. Study Groups Solve Problems, 1941-42 Discussion Courses. Pamphlet.

21. Handbook of the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture, 1941-42. Winnipeg: MFA, 1941, p. 10.

22. John K. Friesen and John M. Parsey, Manitoba Folk Schools, p. 11.

23. Interview, Irene Gamey, 25 January 1990.

24. John K. Friesen and John M Parsey, Manitoba Folk Schools, p. 14.

25. Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF: Education Policy and the Rejection of Socialism, 1942-1948." in The Journal of Educational Thought. Vol. 14, No. 2, August 1980, p. 138.

26. IBID.

27. IBID, p. 147.

28. G.L. Caplan, "The Failure of Canadian Socialism: The Ontario Experience," in Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth Century Canada. Edited by S.D. Clark, J.P. Grayson and L.M. Grayson, Toronto: Gage, 1975.

29. IBID, p. 203.

30. The role of the Russians in the war also played a role in the increased support of socialism during the war, by demonstrating the effectiveness of central planning, in its resistance of the Germans in 1941. Furthermore, the effectiveness of stigmatizing the CCF as communistic was nullified when Russia joined the allies.

31. G.L. Caplan, "The Failure of Canadian Socialism,"

32. Quoted in Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF," p. 140.

33. Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF," p. 142.

34. See M.R. Welton, "'On the Eve of a Great Mass Movement'," and Ronald Faris, The Passionate Educators: Voluntary Associations and the Struggle for Control of Adult Education Broadcasting in Canada 1919 - 1952. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1975.

35. Quoted in Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF," p. 152.

36. Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF," p. 152.

37. Ronald Faris, The Passionate Educators, p. 14.

38. The activities of the Phoenix Club of Winnipeg, whose membership was open to all "culturally minded men and women who wished to spent their leisure time and energy in promoting the work of adult education," was a typical club of this period. It was quite an elite group in that it catered to a certain socio-economic strata. The purpose of the club was to provide a "progressive program of continuous adult education as a means to improving their present order of society." Its members met for comradeship, inspiration, and to appreciate the finer and more worthwhile things in life. By meeting together they hoped to form a nucleus from which a better world could arise. Watson Thomson was invited as a guest speaker by the group on occasion. He was full of praise for the group. See Manitoba Provincial Archives (hereafter MPA), MG 14, C90, Box 2/3. The Phoenix Club.

39. Donald Cameron, "Adult Education and the Challenge of Today," Address, Annual banquet of the Manitoba Pool Elevators, 20 October 1938, pp. 1-2.

40. Juliet Pollard, "Propaganda for Democracy: John Grierson and Adult Education During the Second World War," in Knowledge for the People: The Struggle of Adult Learning in English-Speaking Canada: 1818-1973. Edited by M. R. Welton, Toronto: OISE, 1987, p.145. See also John Grierson, "The Library in the Expanding Community." in Learning and Society, Edited by J.R. Kidd, Toronto: CAAE, 1963.

41. G.R.Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years: a Re-evaluation, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1981, p. 9.

42. M.R. Welton, "'On the Eve of a Great Mass Movement'," p. 34.

43. Ronald Faris, The Passionate Educators, pp. 155-156.

44. Quoted in G.R. Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years, p. 11.

45. Ronald Faris, The Passionate Educators." p. 102.

46. IBID.

47. M.R. Welton, "'On the Eve of a Great Mass Movement," p. 28.

48. Isobel Wilson, "Citizens' Forum," in Adult Education in Canada. Edited by J.R. Kidd. Toronto: CAAE, 1950, p. 179.

49. UMA, UN20, 50-4, Watson Thomson to Sidney Smith, 12 September 1943.

50. Faris, Ronald. The Passionate Educators, p. 105.

51. Isobel Wilson, "Citizens' Forum," p. 128.

52. J.R. Kidd, (ed.), Learning and Society. Toronto: CAAE, 1963, pp. 109-110.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPONSORS

In the previous chapter, the adult education movement was described as an outgrowth of the voluntary associations of the well-to-do and educated elite and the social movement among farmers, both of which used adult education to further their particular causes. By 1935, what had been a fledgling movement was given impetus by the creation of the CAAE. After this it developed quickly into a social reform movement running parallel to, and under the influence of, the socialist movement in Canada. This interpretation of the events that took place between 1928 and 1946 is a Canadian one. In New York, Frederick Keppel and the trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York viewed the same series of events from quite a different perspective.

The Carnegie Corporation was founded in 1911 as the last of a succession of philanthropic institutions established by American steel baron, Andrew Carnegie, as he disposed of his huge accumulation of wealth before his death. Its mandate was to foster "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States and the British colonies and dominions."[1] Frederick Keppel, who was president of the corporation from 1923 to 1941, saw the activities in Canada as resulting from a deliberate effort on his and the corporation's part to foster a movement of adult education in the United States and transport it to Canada.

Keppel had returned to America from Europe after World War I full of enthusiasm for what he had seen of adult education there. As soon as he became president he began to work toward implementing his ideas. According to Knowles, "credit for introducing the vision of a unified field of adult education belongs overwhelmingly to one man [Frederick Keppel] ...."[2] Between November, 1925 and March, 1926, Keppel conducted four meetings with prominent American adult educators to find out what it would take to launch an adult education movement in the

United States. The principal outcome of these meetings was the formation of the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE) in 1926, which was commissioned to research the possibilities and potential of adult education as a new field of sponsorship for the Carnegie Corporation.[3] By 1939, only thirteen years later, Keppel credited the now generally accepted notion of education as a lifelong process in America to the efforts of the AAAE and the Carnegie Corporation.[4]

In this new and experimental field of advancing and diffusing knowledge, Keppel considered Canada so closely connected to the United States as to "really form a single whole."[5] Hence the movement he had fostered in the United States was deliberately extended across the border and various projects sponsored accordingly. One of the earliest was the St. Francis Xavier extension program in Antigonish, and Keppel followed its development and the spread of its influence with great interest. In 1932 the AAAE funded a visit of Canadian adult educators to Scandinavia to observe the well known study circles and folk schools of these countries. The group returned with a vision to foster a movement in Canada, and the Carnegie Corporation again provided the funds to begin the process, first through the Sandiford Survey and then with the creation of the CAAE. The latter was supported with annual grants from 1936 to 1944. In 1939 Keppel reported that McGill University was giving leadership to what he considered definite progress in the different branches of adult education in Canada. In 1942, when the trustees approved another annual grant to the CAAE "in recognition of its growing strength," Keppel noted that had it not been for the war, the CAAE might well have been independent by this time.[6] Comments like these indicate that the intent of Carnegie Corporation was to provide temporary funding to instigate a movement of adult education in Canada.

In 1940 the University of Manitoba received one of these temporary grants to establish a program of rural adult education. While the grant made the Carnegie Corporation the financial sponsor of the Adult Education Office, this does not mean that the sponsorship was as straightforward as Keppel's interpretation of events might imply. From E.A. Corbett's Canadian perspective, the Adult Education Office would be very much a project of the CAAE. In 1936, soon after he became director, Corbett added programming to the agenda of the CAAE, and in October he met with extension directors, other adult educators, and university presidents across the country, to further his cause and suggest ways in which they might implement programs.

Sidney Smith of the University of Manitoba was one of these presidents. Upon Corbett's visit, he drafted a project proposal for submission to the Carnegie Corporation in co-operation with the newly created Manitoba Association of Adult Education. In January, 1937, Smith reported to the association that Corbett had met with Keppel and the president of the AAAE in Washington. "Keppel," he said, "insists that schemes in this field should be endorsed by the Canadian Association of Adult Education."[7] In March, after a series of letters regarding the project, Corbett told Smith that, "the CAAE heartily endorses your proposal."[8] This process indicates that, although dependent on Carnegie money, the CAAE also played an integral role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office. Meanwhile President Smith had his own reasons for wishing to implement a program of rural adult education under the auspices of the University of Manitoba.

Both Corbett and Smith were charismatic leaders, each with their own definition of adult education, and the organizations which they represented were essentially co-sponsors of the project. This meant that before the Carnegie grant could in any way shape the Adult Education Office, it had to pass through the hands of two other institutions, each of which had a vital interest in how the project would be implemented. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the goals and philosophies of the sponsors of the Adult Education Office, first of the Carnegie Corporation and then of the two co-sponsors, to predict how they might shape its program.

THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION AS SPONSOR

From their inception after the turn of the century, the potential for large American foundations to shape the ideas of the nation through their dispersement of vast amounts of corporate wealth has been of some concern to the public. Slaughter and Silva contend that during the progressive era, philanthropic foundations vigorously intervened in the vibrant marketplace of ideas, placing their vast resources at the disposal of only some of the many groups that were promulgating ideas during this period of reform. Those disseminating a world-view that supported the status quo were favoured, while others advocating a restructuring of society were ignored.[9] Berman likewise concludes that modern day philanthropy has consistently furthered American economic and strategic interests in developing countries.[10] In the process, Berman maintains, their largesse has deflected attention from an existing inequitable social order, and from the amount of power held by institutions such as foundations which are clearly controlled by, and serve the interests of, certain classes.[11] Lagemann argues that social class interest, in itself, is too simple an explanation of the complicated co-operative efforts that have always been involved in foundation philanthropy, but she too demonstrated their power in what she termed the politics of knowledge of the early nineteen hundreds.[12] Carnegie Corporation grants, according to Lagemann, had a significant influence in determining which fields of knowledge would be developed, how experts would communicate their knowledge, and who would join the knowledgeable - and by implication powerful - elite.[13]

The Carnegie trustees were, themselves, conscious of the need to allay public fears about the inherent power of corporate philanthropy. In 1924, for example, Keppel noted that they must constantly bear in mind the concern of the public that the diffusion of knowledge would also shape opinion, and that clearly the corporation must avoid this danger.[14] The same concern was present at the establishment of the AAAE. Knowles explains:

> From the very beginning anxiety was expressed over the dominant influence of a foundation in the preparation of establishing a national organization which presumably would be responsible for the whole field.[15]

Although Lagemann concluded that foundation efforts have not directly or exclusively determined the nature of public policy-making, it is evident that the influence of such institutions as the Carnegie Corporation have always been significant in shaping ideas and practices.[16] This fact, together with Frederick Keppel's interpretation of his own and the corporation's role in the Canadian adult education movement, of which the Adult Education Office was a part, makes the nature of its intent a particularly important question to this study.

Frederick Keppel's Philosophy of Adult Education

In an annual report of the Carnegie Corporation, Keppel stated that he had "early recognized in adult education an outstanding opportunity to carry forward the purposes of its Founder and in a way to express his personality...."[17] At the heart of Keppel's zeal for this new field of research, therefore, was his understanding of the philosophy upon which the corporation had been built.

The corporation's founder, Andrew Carnegie, was a Scottish immigrant whose childhood in a poor family had been coloured by the radical labour politics of his maternal relatives. In an effort to rationalize his tremendous accumulation of wealth in North America, he came up with a personal philosophy of wealth which stated that the economy must be allowed to have free play, but that the resulting inequality of wealth must be equalized through stewardship. The millionaire would eventually dispose of his wealth, not through almsgiving, but through such means as education, whereby the recipients themselves could climb the ladder to a better life.[18] Carnegie further believed that as a philanthropist, he should not set standards to discriminate between types of knowledge, but rather assess situations only in terms of whether they might foster the development of knowledge or make it more accessible.[19] This was the basic philosophy behind the creation of the Carnegie Corporation, and one which Frederick Keppel endorsed.

At the time that Keppel became president, leading members of the corporation were in the process of altering Carnegie's open selection policy to a more discriminatory one, in which types of knowledge would be evaluated in terms of their significance to the social order.[20] This policy was not fully applied to adult education, however, and Lagemann suggests an interesting reason for the failure to do so; apparently Keppel's keen interest in innovation and "highly diverse experimentation," rather than "fostering certain social trends" in this field, caused the policy to flounder.[21]

Experimentation was certainly the mandate of the AAAE. The first five years of its life had been designated as an experimental period, and its major purpose always remained that of defining the field and setting standards. The program of the AAAE consisted largely of recommending for grants a variety of studies and experimental projects to which it applied a broad definition of adult education so as to include all types of programs for observational purposes. The inception and structural organization of the AAAE also revealed the hierarchical, professional and carefully controlled approach to adult education held by the Carnegie Corporation. The AAAE was created not by or for practitioners, but by professionals and distinguished citizens selected by the Carnegie trustees. Keppel's former assistant, Morse A. Cartwright, was appointed president, and the association was structured so that most of the power was vested in an executive board elected from the trustees. The professional journal and occasional conferences of the AAAE further distinguished it as a prestigious and elitist organization. Both had a heavy emphasis on the philosophy, theory and quality of adult education, rather than on practical topics for practitioners.[22]

If Keppel were defining adult education today, he would do so in terms of liberal education. He enthusiastically described "that stimulation of the mature mind which is the heart of adult education" as a lifelong process.[23] If the power to learn persists throughout life, he said, then conscious self-education would also continue throughout life.[24] Although he did not say so specifically, Keppel implied that the participants in this lifelong process would be those whose economic status allowed them to benefit from a liberal type of adult education. In fact, for Keppel the adult education movement meant that the field had expanded from the less advantaged groups to the more educated strata of society. He explained,

> Years ago adult education was something of which we highbrows thought the underprivileged should have a little. Today we wonder if we do not need quite a lot of it ourselves, which may be not a bad way to manifest the spirit of democracy.[25]

The same process applied to vocational training, which he believed would become less and less a second-grade article provided for the underprivileged, but would provide training at appropriate times throughout an individual's career.[26]

This somewhat elitist definition of adult education was related to the Carnegie Corporation's policy of choosing "the best man" for the job, which Keppel also endorsed.[27] While dealing with financial restraint during the Depression, Keppel reminded the trustees that to find the individual with ideas and the character and determination to carry out those ideas was more important than large sums of money.[28] In practice this meant that the man with ideas also had the right pedigree or at least the right connections. That Keppel was hardly aware of this inconsistency was evident in his frequent reference to the board of trustees as the voice of the common man in Carnegie decisions, when all of them were very well off, had attended the right schools and came from the right families.

As president of a large foundation, it is natural that Keppel would also view adult education as a means of fostering social stability. During the Depression Keppel was concerned about the breakup of society as he observed it, and explained why the Carnegie Corporation could only support "middle-of-the-road" projects in a time when "frightened men were doing all sorts of strange things in an unbalanced world."

> History can teach us ... that the state [of unbalance] is never permanent. A little later on, in any great movement, progress is again made along the middle of the road and in such progress the foundation can take part. And whenever a solution of any question of general public moment can enlist the interest of a substantial body of good citizens, who are well informed and neither angry nor excited, with whom the foundation can take counsel and with whom it can work, then, and only then, can it properly make its own particular contributions.[29]

It is a curious fact that in the face of this cautious approach to selecting projects for grants, Keppel regularly expressed admiration for the Antigonish movement, which the corporation funded for several years. This program was, of course, well known for its empowerment of poverty stricken fishermen, farmers and miners to combat the oppressive economic constraints placed on them by large companies and Keppel must surely have been aware of its intent. This agrees with

Lagemann's assessment of his avid interest in diversity of experimentation, sometimes at the expense of fostering certain social trends, which was likely the basis of his admiration of so innovative and influential a project as Antigonish. At the same time, Keppel was also aware of the project's close ties to the university and the Catholic church, two stabilizing institutions of society. Keppel's belief in the social significance of adult education took on new meaning when European fascism began to threaten western democracy. In 1939 he quoted President Sproule of the University of California as saying that "the fate of democracy depends on adult education."[30] Further, Keppel identified the annual report of the AAAE as a document of unusual interest that brought out the inter-dependence of adult education and the democratic process.[31] He predicted that in its close association with experienced and competent adult educators, the AAAE would play an increasingly useful role in the process of training men and women to understand, and participate in, the process of maintaining the democratic way of life. This, he believed, was important to the safety of the country.[32] Accordingly, the AAAE organized study groups of leading citizens to discuss international affairs related to democracy, and its annual convention in 1940 was given over to the discussion of adult education and democracy. The Carnegie Corporation also produced study guides for peace education through its Endowment for International Peace, and distributed them among adult education groups.

Funding Canadian programs was directly related to Keppel's concern for the social significance of adult education. In 1940 Keppel reported that,

> The tragic events of recent months have thrown into sharp relief the need of the fullest understanding between Canada and the US and the British colonies. What the Carnegie Corporation has already done may well prove to be a national service of the first importance.[33]

Apparently the friendship that was being fostered with Canada through adult education was seen as beneficial to the safety of the American people.

To summarize, Frederick Keppel and members of the Carnegie Corporation viewed the American adult education movement as largely an expansion of adult learning among those who were well off, rather than a movement among the less fortunate sectors of society. They fostered the development of standards and emphasized the professional, theoretical and experimental aspects of the field. The corporation also endorsed a capitalist societal structure, and consciously advanced social stability in their selection of finding "the right man for the job" and selecting "middle-of-the-road" projects for sponsorship. In this agenda, adult education was seen as being beneficial to the protection of democracy. Friendship with, and influence on, Canada that would ostensibly be fostered by sponsoring adult education programs there was seen as part of the process. If the sponsorship of the Carnegie Corporation was to have an effect on the shaping of the Adult Education Office, it could be expected to do so along these lines.

THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE CAAE

While Frederick Keppel was concerned that projects funded by the Carnegie Corporation be implemented by reliable institutions and supervised by "the best man" for the job, the idea for the Adult Education Office was initiated by E.A. Corbett, planned under his guidance and endorsed by the CAAE as described earlier. In this dynamic director of the CAAE, Keppel had found a man through whom he felt he could confidently channel grants into Canadian projects of adult education.

The nature of Corbett's role in the CAAE was such that the potential impact of this organization on the shaping of the Adult Education Office can be correctly ascertained by looking exclusively at his philosophy and practice of adult education. Selman has called Corbett one of the great charismatic leaders of adult education in Canada, with a strong personality and point of view, who dominated the CAAE and the adult eduction movement for fifteen years.[34] Sidney Smith recognized this same style in 1943 in an address at the London Conference. Regarding the many programs instigated by the CAAE in a short time, he said, "I congratulate, on your behalf, our indefatigable Director who, in his office, with very little assistance, has been chiefly responsible for these achievements."[35]

Corbett, himself, commented on his single-handed style in reference to the ever pressing task of raising finances for the association. The method he used was to go directly to the president of any business or organization that he approached about funding, and then apply his personal charm to gain the president's friendship and financial support.[36] In a letter to Smith regarding the likelihood of obtaining a grant for the University of Manitoba, Corbett indicated that he used the same method with the Carnegie Corporation. "I presented our case to Dr. Keppel [personally]," he wrote. "He usually steers shy of such personal petitions so I feel very hopeful."[37]

As was typical of this period, Corbett embraced the cause of adult education with a "religious" zeal. Religion can be broadly defined as that which gives meaning to life and elicits the devotion of its adherents to the cause that gives meaning. Such a commitment was typical of the "religion of adult education," which was frequently combined with elements of the Christian faith, most typically in the form of the social gospel as was previously described. Corbett had originally trained for the Methodist ministry and found himself unsuited to the profession, but he retained a radical social gospel theology with its accompanying social conscience. Corbett described the relationship between adult education and religion as follows:

> I suppose the desire to see people and situations change and grow is the motive which leads most men and women into education, welfare work, the church, and other altruistic endeavours. It is certainly not the love of money. In adult education I have found an outlet for whatever gifts of heart and mind God and my ancestors gave me.
>
> ...a great many of the men who have worked with us to make the CAAE the useful institution it has become were "Stickit ministers and Catholic priests." In Scotland, the "Stickit minister" was a man who had started his academic training with the idea of becoming a minister of the Presbyterian church and for any one of a number of reasons had become a "dominie," a school teacher, instead.[38]

Also in a religious vein, Corbett believed that the basic aim of education - including adult education - was to give to each succeeding generation a clear conception of the meaning of life, and its part in it.[39] Moreover, Corbett believed that societies that lose their unifying philosophy and meaning of life become chaotic, verging on destruction. The latter was reminiscent of Keppel's concern about the unbalanced nature of American society.

Corbett's endorsement of education for social stability and the transmission of meaning from one generation to another could be interpreted as social conservatism, but other evidence contradicts this implication. Corbett's description of his college days, which had led him to realize that he was not suited for the ministry, was not a conservative one. He related the activities of the Methodist faculty with obvious approval.

> They were fearless and outspoken critics of many of the accepted and cherished doctrines of the Church. They tore the Westminster Confession of Faith, with its pagan concepts of "calling and election", "fore-ordination," "pre-destination," etc., into tatters, to the immense satisfaction of all of us. During my undergraduate days also there had been a notorious heresy trial in Montreal, as a result of which, one of the ablest professors in the Methodist Theological College, Dr G.C. Workman, had been compelled to resign his chair because he had openly questioned the validity of some of the fundamental doctrines of the Methodist church.[40]

Such an attitude toward one of the major stabilizing institutions of the day contrasts sharply with Keppel's middle-of-the-road philosophy.

Furthermore, Corbett did not believe that people should passively accept oppressive economic and social conditions. In nineteenth century England, he argued, responsible Englishmen had unfortunately treated adult education as a gift of the well-to-do to the labouring classes. In such a situation Corbett agreed with Lovett, an adult educator of the period, who had stated that "men had better be without education than to be educated by their rulers."[41] Corbett and the CAAE were, in fact, frequently labelled as being left wing. This caused Corbett little undue concern, for it was his opinion that "'left wing' [was simply] a term used by people to describe any organization or individual whose opinions differed from their own."[42]

In keeping with his social definition of adult education, Corbett believed that the "major responsibility of adult educators [was] in the realm of imaginative training for modern citizenship."[43] By this he meant that citizens must not be satisfied with the mere casting of votes, but that they be informed and involved at all levels of government. This philosophy was different from Keppel's, in that Keppel placed the emphasis on the protection of democracy, whereas Corbett stressed involvement of citizens in the nation's decision making process, as a means of empowering all classes of people.

Corbett believed that citizenship education was best achieved at the grass roots level through the study group method, in which each member contributed his or her own ideas about issues. Grass roots education was familiar to Corbett from his previous position as director of extension at the University of Alberta. Here he had travelled over miles of unpredictable roads, in all kinds of weather, to take adult education to the people. In 1940 his grass roots philosophy was still apparent when he expressed his concern to the CAAE advisory committee that he was spending too much time in his Toronto headquarters.[44] In his annual report the same year, he cautioned that, "the association is at a dangerous stage in its history. It has become a busy centre and it would be easy and comfortable to accept the routine of quiet progress as sufficient justification for our existence."[45]

Corbett substantiated his belief in a dynamic form of adult education, by adding programming to the objectives of the CAAE shortly after it was established. And for programs initiated or sponsored by the CAAE, Corbett consistently chose leaders who adhered to his own social reform philosophy of adult education. His recommendation of Watson Thomson for the Adult Education Office was one example. Harry Avison was another. Avison was a United Church minister as well as a democratic socialist, who eventually obtained a position at the Macdonald College of Adult Education and became a prominent leader in the adult education movement. In 1937 Corbett asked Avison to direct an experimental community development project in The Pas, Manitoba. Although it appeared to have great potential at the outset, the project failed largely because of an unfortunate association with a Communist element in town. Avison had not done anything to discourage the connection and Corbett did not criticise him for the cause of the failure.[46] This was typical of the director of the CAAE.

Projects like these were part of Corbett's "firm conviction that [the CAAE] should be constantly at work ... as a national organization on certain well-planned experimental projects."[47] In light of this and other similar comments, the question arises as to how permanent Corbett considered projects like the Adult Education

Office to be. Evidence shows that Corbett, like Keppel, was genuinely concerned that the body of knowledge be expanded by running experimental projects, but it is also quite conceivable that he highlighted the experimental nature of projects to procure funding for his "hidden agenda" of moving the CAAE in the direction of programming. Smith, for example, was urged to enhance the experimental nature of his proposed project for the university, since this was what the Carnegie Corporation was looking for.[48] Later Smith told his board that regarding the permanence of Carnegie funding for their project, "Ed Corbett has known of cases where they have renewed the grant despite the word 'final'."[49] Selman concurs with this postulation. "These projects may be seen as the CAAE's first venture into direct programming," he says, "but could be 'justified' in terms of the CAAE's stated goals as demonstration or experimental efforts designed to try out certain methodologies."[50]

Procuring sufficient funding to keep the CAAE financially afloat was a continual challenge that required the support and goodwill of the wealthy sector of society. This was something that Corbett acquired and maintained with apparent ease. In spite of his fairly radical philosophy of adult education, Corbett was personally acquainted with all the leaders of the many major voluntary associations of the period and sat on the executive of several of these, including the influential Canadian Institute of International Affairs.[51] Among those Corbett counted as his friends were Sidney Smith, president of the University of Manitoba and then Toronto; H.M. Tory, president of the University of Alberta; J.W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*; and prominent members of Parliament including Brooke Claxton, Paul Martin and Roland Michener. Corbett insured that members of this economic, political and educational elite were well represented on the CAAE executive as well.

Corbett's positive relationship with leaders of the AAAE and the president of the Carnegie Corporation was further evidence of his adeptness at satisfying his financial supporters. In 1938 Corbett received an honorary degree from Mount Allison University together with Morse Cartwright and the director of the World Association of Adult Education, Albert Mansbridge. Although there is no reason to believe that the honour was not well deserved, it would at the same time have provided Corbett with the necessary credibility to maintain the confidence of Keppel and the Carnegie trustees in Corbett as the right man for the job.

Corbett's active nationalism and respect for the government was another factor in the ease with which he maintained the support of his funders. It was his belief that the function of adult education was the empowerment of people to improve their conditions, but he assumed that this would be accomplished within the existing political system. When he did lay blame for oppressive conditions, it was on industry and big business, never on the government. At the same time, Corbett's philosophy of adult education was never purely social. He recognized that economic and social needs had to be addressed before men and women would embrace other forms of adult education, but he always recognized the value of liberal studies. His early experiences as an extension lecturer in Alberta had been a form of liberal education and he continued to promote the stimulation of the adult mind. Although his was a radical philosophy of adult education, it was a moderate radicalism expressed so as not to alarm the conservative circles in which he also moved.

Finally, although his association with the AAAE and with Canada's elite was a necessity, it also afforded Corbett obvious personal pleasure. To enjoy and lead people of any social standing seems to have come naturally to Corbett. His flair for using these relationships to further the cause of adult education, together with his "religious" dedication to the cause seems to have been at the root of Corbett's ability to lead the field of adult education according to his beliefs, without jeopardizing its success. At a dinner given in his honour in 1951, Corbett summed up the vocation that he had been involved in for a great portion of his life as follows: "to be an adult educator one must like people, be flexible and tough, and have a philosophy of life."[52] With that statement Corbett astutely assessed himself.

Based on this assessment of its director, the CAAE's influence on the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office would be expected to more radical than the previous one. It would be in harmony with the Canadian movement of social adult education as described in the previous chapter, and would foster a grass roots program with an emphasis on citizenship education using the study group method.

Corbett's leadership style suggests that his influence would be significant.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA AS LOCAL SPONSOR

While the newly created, dynamic CAAE, which was at the heart of a social movement, initiated and endorsed the Adult Education Office, the University of Manitoba sponsored the project at the local or implementation level. As a well established academic institution, the university included the president, whose role in the project was an integral one, the board of governors, and the general public, whose opinion as taxpayers it had to consider before launching into a new field. A brief description of the historical setting of the university as it pertained to the Adult Education Office begins the discussion of this level of sponsorship.

The Setting

The University of Manitoba was founded in 1877 as a non-teaching federation of three religious colleges in Winnipeg. In 1892 it was granted teaching privileges and its first president, James McLean, was appointed in 1913. In 1917 the University Amendment Act was passed, making the university a government-funded, public institution, but colleges continued to be added over the years and the character of a conglomerate of religious colleges continued. In 1940 this mixed identity meant that the university community was still self-conscious of its novel role as a public institution and concerned that an adult education project fit that role. The question of a common site was another issue resulting from the college structure. During the time of the Adult Education Office the university, which had been housed in various colleges, was located at two sites: a new campus in Fort Garry seven miles from city centre, and a group of old buildings on Broadway Avenue in downtown Winnipeg. The president's office was at the new site and the Adult Education Office was in the Broadway Buildings, which meant that communication between the two offices was not always adequate.

The thirties and forties were difficult decades for the university community, beginning with what contemporary historians called a public tragedy.[53] In 1932 the university had operated for almost twenty years under the same president and board. The administrative atmosphere was one of old habits, personal trust and amateurishness, in which financial matters were slack.[54] At this time, during the height of the Depression, a much overdue audit uncovered a long term embezzlement of university funds by bursar John Machray, who was also chairman of the board. A total of $971,086.95 was found to have disappeared since the last audit. Machray was consequently charged and imprisoned and the board resigned en masse. The government then legislated the University Act, stipulating a new board to consist of the president, the bursar, whose position was soon changed to comptroller, nine members to be appointed by the Department of Education, and three elected members.

This incident took place while Premier Bracken was desperately seeking to balance the provincial budget in order to obtain federal assistance. In 1934 government grants to the university were reduced from $400,000 to $250,000, forcing some of the faculty to retire, others to go on half-time salaries, and tuition fees to be raised when students could least afford to pay. For two years the university struggled to regain financial stability and public support, and minutes of board meetings throughout the entire trying decade tell the story of ongoing financial restraint. Any new project proposals for which Department or other outside funding could not be obtained were not approved.

Regarding adult education, the University of Manitoba had been engaged in various extension activities almost from its beginning. A public lecture series was begun in 1909, and in 1920 a Radio Committee was organized to air weekly lectures by faculty members. The Evening Institute, which offered evening courses on a variety of topics to Winnipeg residents, was established in 1936. It was one of the most popular of the university's extension activities, and it expanded rapidly both in enrolment and course offerings. In 1936, 416 students registered in six courses and by 1943 these numbers had steadily increased to 875 students registered in 17 courses. Beginning in 1938 several of the same courses were offered - with less success - through the Workers' Education Association. The university had also offered agricultural extension courses until 1926, at which time the Department of Agriculture took over that aspect of adult education. Although extension activities were part of the university's tradition, it did not establish a Department of Extension until 1949.

Sidney Smith and Adult Education

Although a complex institution, the university, like the CAAE, was dominated by a dynamic, charismatic leader. This man was Sidney Earle Smith, who had been appointed president of the university in 1934 at the age of 37. He came to the University of Manitoba from the Dalhousie Law School, where his position of dean had given him the administrative experience necessary to take on his first presidency. By the time Smith arrived in Manitoba, the university had moved into a reconstruction phase after the reorganization of 1932. It had a new board of governors, a new comptroller, a new chancellor, and with the coming of Smith, it had a new young president as well. At the same time the Depression was beginning to abate somewhat.

Smith's term of office was filled with accomplishments. W.L.Morton, who was professor of History and also involved in the Adult Education Office, gave the following appraisal of the new president: "President Smith brought to the University of Manitoba the very things it needed: confidence, leadership and presence. His coming raised the hopes his term of office was to realize."[55] He achieved this by stressing the preservation of the primacy of liberal arts, and by affirming a religious spirit in a state-sponsored university, which had recently been a federation of religious colleges. In Morton's opinion "these factors made up a sound and tactful beginning that was well received."[56]

At the same time, according to Morton, Smith ensured that the university did not bar itself within an ivory tower, but extended its services to the community even in a time of straightened means.[57] This was done through the establishment of various new departments which had immediate applicability to the community, such as Education, Social Sciences, and the separation of Home Economics from the Faculty of Agriculture. The Adult Education Office was another example of a program that Smith undertook to augment community contact. That these departments were added at the expense of the central faculties of Arts and Science, Agriculture, Engineering and Medicine caused some concern, but this was the route the new president chose to go. Morton summed up his assessment of Smith as being more of an administrative than an academic president, being "flexible to the ways of the world, yet still academically acceptable." [58]

E.A. Corbett described Smith from the perspective of a fellow adult educator and friend.[59] Like Corbett, Smith had been raised in a minister's family in the Maritimes and had considered entering the ministry. He too had acquired a consciousness of social issues in the process, and Corbett's description of Smith as an intelligent man, with a great capacity to work, a lively sense of humour and a quick wit, who never lost his sense of fun, was not unlike his own personality.[60]

Corbett also recognized in Smith's administration a commitment to community involvement. Although he had noted a large gap between Manitobans and their university, Corbett credited the administration for recognizing "that a university supported by a provincial government could only be secure if the people who paid the taxes were convinced that the institution had value to the community and to individuals."[61] Smith spared no effort to gain that support and accepted countless speaking engagements to that end at such events as farmers' conventions, country fairs and church services. Smith's willingness to speak to rural groups was born out by a piece of correspondence between himself and Reverend Savage of Killarney. The minister had invited the president to speak in his church as part of a weekend conference of the Adult Education Office, to which Smith replied:

> I will have given by that time, within a three-week period, seven addresses. That is too many! But, I appreciate the opportunity to speak to a group of Manitobans who live outside of Winnipeg and Brandon. I will give an address: It will not be a sermon, or an attempt to "preach." I will endeavour to speak about some of the privileges and obligations of Canadian citizenship.[62]

One of the reasons for Smith's interest in adult education and for instigating a rural program, was his belief that the university had an obligation to all taxpayers of Manitoba, not only urban ones. In response to a letter from a United Church minister in Roblin, Smith replied, "Your testimony is indeed encouraging and it deepens our resolution to extend the benefit of the university more directly throughout the province."[63] A similar concern was expressed several times throughout the life of the Adult Education Office. An article in the *University Bulletin*, stating that with the creation of the Adult Education Office, the university had begun to "implement its social responsibilities to the province as a whole," was only one example.[64]

Although the support of the community was important, it was Corbett's belief that Smith also engaged in extensive speaking assignments out of a genuine love for people. He described Smith's style at the community level.

> Very often his best work was done after the lecture was over as he swapped yarns in the hotel late at night or mingled with his audience over a cup of tea following the meeting. Gradually he built back into the civic consciousness the feeling the "this chap is one of us and the University is a going concern after all, and of vital concern to all of us."[65]

While rural folk enjoyed the company of the president, the following anecdote from Corbett indicates that Smith also used his personality to good effect with those to whom he was answerable.

> One of the stories that was told about Smith was about his amused reaction to Walter Crawford, whose habit it was to bring in the University's Annual Report, throw it on the President's desk and say, "There are all the facts and figures. Now you shovel in the slush." To which the President replied, "Salt on the mackerel, we call it in Cape Breton -- makes it more palatable."[66]

Most sources confirmed Corbett's positive description of his friend and fellow adult educator, but not all agreed that Smith's actions were only altruistic. Economics professor, W.J. Waines, who was also involved in the adult education project, criticised the president, saying that much of what he did was for his own ambition.[67] For example, Smith collected twenty-two honorary degrees, was a member of a great many organizations and was one of the most influential members of the National Conference of Canadian Universities. Waines, who had appreciated former President McLean for his brilliance and support of the faculty and their research, expressed resentment over the way in which Smith manipulated faculty salaries and expected the professors to be take on extra teaching assignments when salaries were insufficient. He called Smith a shrewd politician, who could prescribe policy to satisfy public demands. Although his description was likely valid, Waines' interpretation of Smith's actions was more critical than that of others. Similar suspicion of the young president was common among faculty when he first arrived, but apparently it did not last long.[68]

President Smith's role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office can be further ascertained from his own correspondence and other writings.[69] What becomes immediately apparent is that Smith had some sort of an extension program of a permanent nature in mind from the beginning of his presidency. He first approached the board about rural adult education in 1935, and for the next two years he was in regular correspondence with Corbett and others about setting up a program.[70] In 1935 Smith was a member of the MAAE, where he communicated with adult educators like Esther Thompson and John Mackay from the Department of Agriculture about rural adult education, and in 1936 they wrote their first proposal for the Carnegie Corporation. In February, 1937, Smith presented his idea to the Minister of Education and in 1938 he attended and enjoyed an adult education conference in Saskatchewan. In January, 1939, he optimistically informed Corbett that the Department of Education would quite possibly put up money for a rural adult education project. He also laid out tentative plans for an extension department, stating that the University of Manitoba was now the only university without an extramural department.[71]

In April the Carnegie grant came through and in an amazingly short period of time a project was underway. Smith again referred to his vision for an extension department in a subsequent progress report to the Carnegie Corporation. He wrote:

> I have in mind that our adult education program in Winnipeg, such as evening classes, lectures, WEA, municipal secretary short course

> training and broadcasts on many topics, should be correlated with our rural project and placed under the general supervision of Watson Thomson.[72]

Smith's writings further indicate that, although he was a university president, he advocated, if he did not actively promote, a radical approach to adult education similar to that of leaders in the adult education movement. In 1943 Smith was president of the CAAE, at the peak of socialist influence on the association, placing him right at the heart of the adult education movement. At the London conference that year Smith gave the presidential address with a religious fervour not unlike that of his friend Corbett. The address outlined his beliefs about adult education.[73]

First, Smith called for radical post-war plans by the CAAE for creating a new society in which the sacrifices of the war would not be wasted. He called the group back to faith saying that the scepticism and open-mindedness of the present day must be tempered with a close-mindedness about standards, values and absolutes. Convictions, however, must not lead to insipid inaction, but instead, adult education should be a dynamic entity for creating social change. This, Smith believed, could best be accomplished at the grass roots level.

Smith also related adult education to the defense of democracy, giving his interpretation of citizenship education as follows:

> [T]he citizens of a democracy must be educated in order that they may exercise wisely the sovereign will of the people, who are, at once, the governed and the governors .... In a democracy, all the people need the education that rulers need everywhere. Herein lies the failure or success of democracy. Herein lies the task of adult education in a democracy.[74]

A true democracy would also have room for radical views.

> To avoid offering a thin nutriment, the CAAE should encourage the sincere radical or the sincere reactionary to state, with passionate conviction, his case. Then let the people decide. If we cannot trust them to decide wisely, we cannot trust democracy.[75]

He cautioned, however, that adult education must remain non-partisan and that the CAAE should not espouse any particular "ism" or the platform of any political party. In fact there was some danger of becoming a pawn of the government, should it begin to support adult education financially.

Finally, although the address purported a social interpretation of adult education, it also contained Smith's belief in a balance of liberal and social adult education. "We must also afford [adults] the opportunity to study the laws of men," he concluded, "to study the ideals and achievements of mankind, to study human relations as set forth in literature, history and the social sciences."[76]

In a report to the Carnegie Corporation in 1942, which was very similar to the project proposal of 1936, Smith clarified how a program of what he called a well-rounded citizenship education, could be implemented in a university.

> It will be observed that the programme launched by the University is predominantly cultural, in a wide sense. A programme in farming practices and home-making is being carried on by the Department of Agricultural Extension services and a programme in co-operatives and credit unions is being offered by the MFA. Our project is one *more appropriate to a university* and is complementary to the other programmes. Having in mind that man does not live by bread alone, we, of the University, believe that there is a very definite place in adult education work for cultural offerings. To express our belief in another way: a programme, based merely on economic consideration, in time, may fail to satisfy deeper human needs in this decade of national and international turmoil and not be conducive to the promotion of a well-rounded citizenship.[77]

In other words, a university project, although set in the heart of the adult education movement, should have certain academic or liberal characteristics appropriate to a university.

To conclude, Smith's role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office was a dual one. On the one hand, he was a university president and a shrewd administrator, who successfully built up the image of the University of Manitoba from out of the Depression. As such he was concerned that a university sponsored adult education program have the appropriate academic content. This role could be expected to be reflected in the university sponsorship. At the same time, Smith possessed the characteristics of an adult educator. The new departments created during his presidency were adult education-like compared to the traditional faculties; he put a great deal of energy into meeting Manitobans on their own territory; and he was president of the national adult education association at the peak of it leadership in a social movement. Smith was completely comfortable with the proceedings of the London Conference, and addressed the members with a "religious" fervour that was typical of social adult educators of this period. Welton aptly summed up Smith's position when he said, "With the arrival of Sidney Earle Smith ... the adult education movement had gained a formidable, capable and genial ally."[78] This second aspect of Smith's role in the sponsorship would point toward a program of social adult education, but of a balanced nature. Like Corbett, Smith's leadership style was such that his philosophy could be expected to have a substantial influence on the larger university community.

The Board of Governors

Although Smith's leadership style was a charismatic one, he was not at liberty to implement a new program without the approval of the board. The Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba had representation from Agriculture, Labour, Medicine, Law and the Canadian Pacific Railway. J.W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, was chancellor; Walter Crawford, formerly from the Manitoba Agricultural College, had been appointed to the newly created position of comptroller, and Judge A.K. Dysart was the new chairman. Smith's relations with the latter three has been described as a close, happy and supportive one and Crawford, in particular, worked very well with Smith in a complementary fashion.[79]

One board member who deserves particular attention for her involvement in adult education was Mary Speechly. Speechly served on the board of the Manitoba Agricultural College prior to its amalgamation with the University of Manitoba in 1924. Before the war Speechly had lived in Pilot Mound for several years as the wife of a country doctor. Here she had been actively involved in community work, such as improving the agricultural fair, setting up practical courses for adults, and establishing a branch of the Women's Institute. In Winnipeg she had distinguished herself as one of the founders of the Winnipeg Birth Control Clinic, which was an illegal organization at the time. At the university, Speechly was instrumental in establishing the Department of Home Economics and the School of Social Work under the presidency of Sidney Smith.[80]

With this background it is not surprising that Speechly became involved with the Adult Education Office at the planning stage and then in an advisory capacity. It was to her that Smith would turn regularly for advice on rural adult education. In 1940 he asked Speechly to represent the University of Manitoba at the CAAE council meeting. In her report on the event, Speechly indicated that, like Smith, she envisioned a permanent extension program at the university in the future. She applauded the programs of the CAAE, and regarding the Federal Youth Training Program she commented:

> Excellent as this programme is acclaimed to be for the younger adults, it leaves untouched the very large field of education for the older people in rural districts, and one that could be very suitably covered by University extension departments.[81]

Further, she pointed out that several public universities in western Canada already had extension departments. The University of British Columbia had a program similar to that of Antigonish - in spite of its being a public institution; the University of Alberta was "ready to promote social and economic betterment in rural areas," and the University of Saskatchewan was expanding extension services as well. About the University of Manitoba she said:

> I felt that the University of Manitoba, with its highly trained personnel and special facilities should be helping to stabilize and consolidate rural life. It need not initiate "social action" (to quote Donald Cameron) but it can at least uphold and strengthen the hands of those who are heroically striving to cope locally with the feeling of frustration and the confused thinking that flow inevitably from periods of economic distress. The university is in a happy position of being free to give people such education (through study groups or otherwise) as they desire and not what various interests think they should have. But at the moment our University finds itself in a backwater and not, where it should be in the full stream of a most vitalizing movement.[82]

Speechly concluded, "It is to be earnestly hoped that something can be arranged soon - experimentally at first, with the help of the Carnegie grant, and eventually, if successful, made a permanent University Service, supported by a provincial government grant."[83]

Although Smith generally enjoyed the full support of the board and several members sat on the advisory committee of the Adult Education Office, there was no evidence that any of them had an interest in an extension program similar to Speechly's. The board's position was recorded in the minutes in 1935. It read:

> [I]t is our view that the direct benefits and influences of the University should be taken to all parts of Manitoba. We, however, find ourselves financially unable to undertake to any considerable extent a programme of extension work which would redound the material, intellectual and social advantage of rural and urban communities.[84]

With the library badly in need of upgrading, and salaries cut by 25% in 1932, still unreasonably low, this was likely a valid reason for not supporting adult education at the time. The board was quite willing to endorse the Evening Institute, which was self supporting, and the WEA lectures which were supported by a government grant.

The Role of the University as Seen in the Field

For Mary Speechly and Sidney Smith, the University of Manitoba seemed ideally set for an adult education program because of the expertise it could offer, and because it was "disinterested" and politically unbiased. Other adult educators as well offered their opinions at Smith's request for input on the idea of a rural program. Esther Thompson wrote from the Department of Agriculture to say that Smith and Speechly were the two people who could best bring about a program of rural adult education in Manitoba. She cautioned, however, that a university sponsored program must bear in mind the lifestyle that rural people cherished.[85] Harry Avison similarly advised that the university tread carefully so as not to frighten rural people with an overly academic approach. He also expressed his hope that a university sponsorship would serve to legitimize adult education, and free it of the vague associations it had in people's minds.[86] Dr. Wallace of Queen's University, on the other hand, cautioned Smith against becoming associated with certain types of adult education, such as semi-political farmer organizations like the MFA. If they were to work together, he advised, the university must remain clearly in charge.[87]

Professor Henry Grant, who would become involved in the project as author of study guides and chairman of the study group committee, was also cautious about adult education at the university. He recommended that Smith take a look at Antigonish because of its prominence in the field, but not to try and emulate it in a state-sponsored university. St. Francis Xavier, he explained, was a private Catholic institution, with religious solidarity and local leadership in the form of priests. Because it was directly dependent on its constituency for funding, its program could be both economic and objective at the same time. This, he warned, was not the case with the University of Manitoba, which must implement only programs that were clearly beneficial to all groups of taxpayers. Therefore Grant advised that the University of Manitoba could make the best contribution to rural adult education in a supportive capacity, such as preparing study group materials and handbooks. He also recommended that it work in an experimental capacity until the role of the university in rural education had been clarified.[88]

To summarize, its "unbiased" or "disinterested" role, and the expertise that it was equipped to offer, were considered by many to make the public university an appropriate sponsor of rural adult education. Several cautioned about becoming involved in an economic type of adult education while Harry Avison, by contrast, saw in its sponsorship as being advantageous to a social form of adult education. Whatever the case, the Adult Education Office would have a strong leader in President Smith, and he would implement a program according to his own philosophy of adult education in the face of mixed public opinion.

CONCLUSION

Sponsorship was defined in this work to include not only the source of program funding, but also the institutional or organizational framework that makes a program possible. To have done otherwise, would have been to ignore vital elements that were part of a dynamic period in the history of Canadian adult education. An examination of the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office, using an expanded definition, revealed a rich complexity of liberal versus social and economic education, and conservative versus radical social policy as it pertained to the field.

Sponsoring a program of rural adult education in Manitoba was part of Frederick Keppel's agenda to foster an adult education movement in Canada. Based on the arguments of Lagemann, Knowles and others, the influence of a powerful foundation, such as the Carnegie Corporation, on a Canadian movement could be expected to be significant. The nature of this influence would be socially conservative and endorse a liberal interpretation of adult education.

Frederick Keppel and Morse Cartwright did facilitate a Canadian movement, but it took on a character of its own that was in keeping with the Canadian socialist movement. The personal convictions and dedication to the cause of adult education held by E.A. Corbett were major factors in this turn of events. Because the Carnegie Corporation channelled its grants for Canadian projects through the CAAE, Corbett played a similar role in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office. While one would expect Carnegie sponsorship to result in a conservative program, one endorsed by Corbett would be decidedly social. As The Pas experiment demonstrated, Corbett encouraged even those programs that became entangled with communism. In this way, the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office was enriched by the role of Corbett and the CAAE.

The choice of the University of Manitoba as local sponsor of the project was due both to the inclination of the Carnegie Corporation toward university sponsors and to Smith's personal goal of establishing an extension program at the University of Manitoba. The university community was generally agreed upon the appropriateness of placing a program of rural adult education under the auspices of a university, but remained strongly cautious. Even Mary Speechly, who championed the cause of rural adult education, felt it necessary to mention that a university sponsored study group program need not necessarily create social change.

President Smith, on the other hand, was closely associated with the social movement of adult education, and advocated an agenda for creating a new and better society. At the same time, he favoured a balance of social and liberal adult education as appropriate to a university. Smith was the second charismatic leader in the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office, so that at the local level his influence on shaping the program could be expected to be significant. It would also complement Corbett's.

Although the nature of the sponsorship was complex, Corbett, Smith and Keppel shared a strong common bond of wishing to see adult education spread across the country. Keppel's interest lay in extensive experimentation and diffusion of a new field of knowledge. This was also part of Corbett's motive, but he had a further vision of establishing permanent programs while the fervour of the movement lasted. Smith envisioned a program that would bring the University of Manitoba into closer contact with all Manitobans.

Furthermore, although the philosophical spectrum represented by the three leaders was broad, each was skilled in the art of diplomacy. At the same time all three advocated a balanced approach to adult education which tempered their differences. Corbett, as the most radical, was skilled at maintaining the favour of his funders while standing firm on his convictions. Keppel, as the most conservative and cautious, defined the field broadly so as not to exclude programs for the purpose of observation. Smith shared Corbett's radical vision for adult education, but at the same time he was conscious of the more cautious role of the university.

What emerges from this study, then, is a sponsorship in which an American foundation and a Canadian university, both with strong conservative tendencies, provided the institutional framework for the Adult Education Office, while at the local level, Corbett and Smith, both with a clearly defined social vision for adult education, provided the leadership. How the program was implemented under this sponsorship is the subject of the following chapters.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 2

1. Carnegie Corporation, Annual Reports of the President and the Treasurer, Carnegie Corporation of New York. New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1924 (hereafter CC AR, 1924), p. 1.

2. Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962, p. 190.

3. IBID, p. 90.

4. CC, AR, 1939, p. 47.

5. CC AR, 1935, p. 37.

6. CC, AR, 1942, p. 16.

7. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Memo, 11 January 1937.

8. UMA, UN20, 199-002, E.A. Corbett to Smith, 08 March 1937.

9. Sheila Slaughter and Edward T. Silva, "Looking Backwards: How Foundations Formulated Ideology in the Progressive Period," in Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism The Foundations at Home and Abroad. Edited by Robert F. Arnove. Boston: G.K.Hall and Co., 1980, p. 56.

10. Edward H. Berman, The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, p. 146.

11. IBID, p. 27.

12. Ellen C. Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation and the Formulation of Public Policy," in History of Education Quarterly. Vol. 27, No. 2, Summer 1987, p. 204-205.

13. IBID, p. 220.

14. CC, AR, 1924, p. 6.

15. Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement, p. 193.

16. Ellen C. Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge," p. 220.

17. CC, AR, 1936, p. 24.

18. Ellen C. Lagemann, Private Power for Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, p. 6.

19. Ellen C. Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge," p. 221.

20. IBID, p. 213.

21. IBID, p. 214.

22. Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement, p. 217-243. In 1951, another adult education organization, the Adult Education Association, was formed. According to Malcolm Knowles, who was a member of this new group, its members saw the AAAE as having represented elitism, top down planning, hierarchical organization, too much theory with little for the practitioner, and little membership involvement. The goals of the new organization were laid out in reaction to the AAAE. See

23. Frederick P. Keppel, Philanthropy and Learning With Other Papers. 1936. New York: AMS Press Inc., 1967, p. 51.

24. IBID, p. 50.

25. IBID, p. 135.

26. IBID, p. 57-58.

27. Ellen C. Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge," p. 210.

28. CC, AR, 1936, p. 50.

29. Frederick P. Keppel, Philanthropy and Learning, p. 99-100.

30. CC, AR, 1939, p.20.

31. IBID, p. 19.

32. CC, AR, 1940, p. 21-22.

33. CC, AR, 1940, p. 22.

34. G.R. Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years, p. 8.

35. Sidney Smith, "The President's Address," in Food For Thought. Vol. 3 No.10, 5-8, June 1943, p.5.

36. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957, p. 182.

37. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Corbett to Smith, 08 March 1937.

38. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight. p. 217-218.

39. Quoted in J.R. Kidd, (ed.). Learning and Society. Toronto: CAAE, 1963, p. 107.

40. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight, p. 218-219.

41. E.A. Corbett, "A Brief History of Adult Education in Canada." in Adult Education in Canada. Edited by J.R. Kidd. Toronto: CAAE, 1950, p. 4.

42. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight, p. 175.

43. E.A. Corbett, "A Brief History of Adult Education in Canada," p. 10.

44. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Minutes of the Meeting of the Dominion Advisory Council CAAE, 25-26 January 1940.

45. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Director's Report to Meeting of Advisory Committee CAAE, 25-26 January 1940, p. 7.

46. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight, p. 152-156.

47. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Director's Report to Meeting of Advisory Committee CAAE, 25-26 January 1940, p. 8.

48. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Wallace to Smith, 16 February 1937.

49. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Smith to J.W. Dafoe, 04 July 1942.

50. G.R. Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years, p. 4-5.

51. Ronald Faris, The Passionate Educators.

52. G.R. Selman, The CAAE in the Corbett Years, p. 81.

53. W.L. Morton, One University. p. 150. See also W. J. Waines, "University Presidents I Have Known: Recollections and Impressions." Unpublished paper, UMA.

54. W.L. Morton, One University, p. 150

55. IBID, p. 159-160.

56. IBID.

57. IBID, p. 162.

58. IBID, p. 159.

59. E.A. Corbett, Sidney Earle Smith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

60. IBID.

61. IBID, p. 25.

62. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Smith to Rev. Savage, 21 May 1942.

63. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Smith to Ken McKillop, 28 February 1941.

64. UMA, UN20, 7-15, Newspaper clipping in Scrapbook, entitled "The New University Adult Education Program,", 07 May 1941.

65. E.A. Corbett, Sidney Earle Smith, p. 25.

66. IBID, p. 26.

67. W.J. Waines, "University Presidents I Have Known,"

68. UMA, Minutes, University of Manitoba Board of Governors, 11 May 1944.

69. See the Sidney Smith papers among others.

70. IBID.

71. UMA, UN20, 22-2, Sidney Smith, Aims and Objectives of a New Department, 05 August 1939.

72. UMA, UN20, 50-4, Smith to Lester, 09 February 1942.

73. Sidney Smith, "The President's Address,"

74. IBID, p. 7-8.

75. IBID.

76. IBID.

77. UMA, UN20, 50-4, Smith to Lester, 09 February 1942. Italics mine.

78. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," p. 183.

79. E.A. Corbett, Sidney Earle Smith,

80. Mary Barett Speechly received her elementary and secondary schooling in a private boys school in England, because her father, who was the headmaster considered the education available for girls to be inferior. Speechly did graduate and post graduate studies at Newham College in Cambridge. Cambridge was not yet granting degrees to women at that time so she graduated from Victoria University in Manchester with a Masters degree. She came to Canada from England in 1902 with her husband, who was setting up a country medical practice in Pilot Mound, Manitoba. The Speechlys resided in Pilot Mound util 1916.

Mrs. Speechly soon got involved in community work in Pilot Mound. Her first assignment came from the Department of Agriculture. She, together with five other women was to improve the annual agricultural fair. This group of women continued to work together, and in 1911 they established a Women's Institute. Mrs Speechly recognized the need for the Women's Institute to provide a non-church organization where both town and country women could meet to work and learn together. These five women also worked with the department to set up various practical courses in Pilot Mound for women as well as for men and children. Mrs Speechly was also the first female school board member in Pilot Mound.

In 1916 Dr. Speechly left for Europe to assist in the war effort and Mrs. Speechly moved to Winnipeg. Here she again became involved in community work. She was an active member of the Social Science Club. This group studied current social issues such as the Child Welfare Act of 1917, the Suffrage Dowry Act, the resettlement of soldiers on poor agricultural land after World War I, and during the depression, the issue of birth control.

The Winnipeg Birth Control Clinic was opened in 1936 with Mrs. Speechly being one of the leading founders, and its first director. At a time when the distribution of information about birth control and even more the distribution of contraceptives was prohibited by law, this well educated and respected women was director of an illegal organization. She did so to ease the plight of families who, for mental economic or social reasons, did not want to have children.

As a board member of the University of Manitoba, Mrs. Speechly was instrumental in establishing the Faculty of Home Economics and the School of Social Work. See UMA, Mary Speechly Papers, MSS SC 35.

81. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Mary Speechly to A.K. Dysart, 25-26 January 1940.

82. IBID.

83. IBID.

84. UMA, Minutes, U of M Board of Governors, 26 September 1935.

85. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Esther Thompson to Smith, 28 January 1937.

86. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Harry Avison to Smith, 26 January 1937.

87. UMA, UN20, 199-002, Wallace to Smith, 16 February 1937.

88. UMA, UN20, 199-002, H. Grant to Smith, 12 October 1936.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPLEMENTORS - STUDY GROUPS

While a program may be shaped by the goals of its sponsors, it may also be determined by the definition of adult education held by those who implement it. In the case of the Adult Education Office, the educational goals of its sponsors fell roughly into two categories: liberal and social, represented by the Carnegie Corporation and the CAAE respectively. The University of Manitoba straddled the two categories in the dual role of Sidney Smith, who had characteristics of both adult educator and university president. Meanwhile the project was implemented and developed by a diverse group of directors and other leaders, each with his or her own set of beliefs and personal agenda. This description of the University of Manitoba's rural adult education program, focuses on the interaction between the philosophies of its implementors and the goals of its sponsors.

A RURAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM IS LAUNCHED

On April 13, 1940, the University of Manitoba received $10,000, with provision for a two-year extension, from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to develop an adult education program in rural Manitoba, as proposed by President Smith in 1936. The proposal contained the basic plan for the project and reflected the goals of the Carnegie Corporation and the suggestions of the university community and various adult educators as described in the previous chapter. A planning committee, comprising the president, board chairman A.K. Dysart, Mary Speechly and two faculty members, was appointed by the board of governors, and on November 14 they presented a "plan for a rural adult education program, with a wartime emphasis, to the board."[1] It was to consist of three divisions: Study Groups, Drama, and Arts and Crafts. The experimental nature of the project was highlighted, and the plan stipulated that the project "not have a permanent central organization with an overhead establishment, but that the success of the program determine its growth."[2] The plan and a budget of $5,500 for the first six months was approved by the board.

The Adult Education Committee, as the organizing body was called, played a leading advisory role throughout the life of the project. In order to perform its functions, it was greatly expanded to include faculty members from the History, Political Economy, Agriculture, Fine Arts and Architecture Departments; Chancellor Dafoe; Fawcett Ransom, secretary of the Manitoba Pool Elevators; John Friesen, and others who were involved in rural adult education. Ransom and Friesen were involved only in the initial stage. The committee was divided into three subcommittees to oversee the three program divisions, and met regularly for the next four and a half years.

The composition and tasks of the Adult Education Committee typified the fairly extensive involvement of various university personnel in the project. Although Smith was a strong leader, for whom establishing an adult education program during his presidency was a personal goal, it seems that he meant to do so through his faculty. The first phase of the project was a short course for training rural men and women to organize study groups at the local level. Professors Grant, Clokie, McQueen and Fieldhouse from the History and Political Economics Departments, and John Russell and Milton Osborne from the Departments of Architecture and Fine Arts, were the chief planners of the short course. This group, with the exception of McQueen, continued to be involved for the duration of the project.

Four instructors were engaged for the short course which was held December 27 to 29, 1940. Edith Sinclair, a Winnipeg drama expert, taught the Drama section, Milton Osborne instructed Arts and Crafts, and Dr. J.P. Schmidt of the University of Ohio Extension Department consented to come and teach "Study Group Techniques for Personal and Social Responsibilities of Citizenship." Upon Corbett's suggestion, Smith invited Watson Thomson, recently assistant to Donald Cameron at the University of Alberta, to join them as a guest instructor. "Corbett informs me," wrote Smith, "that you are by long odds the best man we could get in the West to talk at the short course on study groups techniques ...."[3] Thomson accepted the invitation. John Friesen advertised the course through the MFA and in response, thirty-five registered in the Study Groups section, seven enroled in Drama and eight in Arts and Crafts.

With the short course underway, the program was officially launched. The Carnegie Corporation grant was guaranteed for only three years, but the program actually lasted from January, 1941, to August, 1945. Funding for the additional two and a half years was procured through frugality, careful planning, supplementary money from adjunct programs and two grants from the Rockefeller Foundation for the Drama Division. The program was established between January and April, 1941. This was followed by three years of development and steady growth. The fourth and final year of the project was overshadowed by uncertainty over future funding and in August, 1945, when both the Carnegie and Rockefeller grants were exhausted, the program was suspended. At that time the Department of Education made a small amount of money available for an interim Adult Education Office, which operated on a very limited scale until 1949 and is not part of this study.

THE STUDY GROUPS DIVISION

Although the university program had three divisions, the establishment of study groups was clearly its principal focus. The proposal of 1936 had identified study groups as "the spearhead of the extension programme" and the distribution of the budget confirmed this intent.[4] President Smith reiterated this intention several times during the life of the program.

At the time of the short course a secretary for the Study Groups Division had not yet been appointed, although Smith and Corbett had investigated several possibilities. Harry Avison, who had been their first choice, had since moved to The Pas and was not available. Their preference for a democratic socialist like Avison, who was dedicated to the cause of adult education for social change, indicated that both Corbett and Smith were looking for someone who would fit into the more radical aspect of the adult education movement.

Watson Thomson was an expert in study group methods and Corbett suggested him as a possibility, although he had some reservations about his ability to be practical,[5] something that was also mentioned by Thomson's former supervisor, Donald Cameron.[6] Thomson seems to have made a good impression on Smith at the short course, however, and after consulting further with Corbett and several of the faculty and committee members, Smith offered Thomson the position of secretary of the Study Groups Division, on a four-month trial basis. Thomson accepted and commenced his duties in January, 1941.

Thomson was born in Scotland in 1900 where he acquired an M.A. degree and a teaching certificate. In 1919, at the young age of twenty, he had survived the horrors of World War I, and it had left him with the conviction that if society were to survive, it would have to be entirely recreated. His consequent quest for answers and meaning led him to a teaching position in Jamaica and then to Nigeria, as Superintendent of Education. After suffering bout after bout of malaria he returned to London, where he immersed himself in work among the poor on the dock sides of London.

It was at this time that he met and joined the Alfred Adler Society, an experience that would influence him for life. The society was an experiment in community, in which the group met regularly to study and practise Adler's psychological theories of individual wholeness and creativity. The group essentially became Thomson's family, and for three years he basked in the friendship and support it provided. At the same time he formulated much of his thinking on the group experience. Unfortunately, the society began to experience serious problems with its director and teacher, who was becoming ever more authoritarian and somewhat irrational. By 1936 the situation was serious enough for Thomson to decide to leave the group, and he "fled" to Canada. Here he soon met E.A. Corbett and was introduced to the Canadian adult education scene.[7]

In an effort to assist Thomson in establishing himself as an adult educator in Canada, Corbett suggested a trip to western Canada, where he thought Thomson might find work with the WEA. Thomson did this and the connection eventually led him to the University of Alberta as Cameron's assistant. It was here that Thomson became intimately acquainted with the rural study group method. In 1940 he made a short trip to England to help with the war effort, and upon his return he was contacted by Sidney Smith about the short course.[8]

Study Groups Defined

The extensive use of study groups as a method of education was a phenomenon of the thirties and forties, and a distinctive feature of the adult education movement. In Manitoba study group activity ranged from the "enrichment of the mind" of the well-to-do members of the Phoenix Club; to the Winnipeg League for Social Reconstruction, in which a group of young adults studied social change through such ambitious projects as rewriting the Rowell-Sirois report in layperson's English; to the co-operative training offered by the MFA; to the many informal or ad hoc groups that met to discuss topics or issues of their choice. The purpose of the university study groups was citizenship education. Stated simply, and using a fairly radical definition, citizenship education meant training common men and women to take the decision-making power of a democratic government out of the hands of politicians and place it into their own. The proposal of 1936 had stated that the university program would provide something between the economic, political and academic programs that were presently available. In actuality, this meant providing an "unbiased" alternative to MFA and CCF study groups, and something more accessible than the university's Evening Institute. The program was to be practical and yet contain an academic or "cultural" component.

For Watson Thomson, who was considered an expert in the method, study groups with discussion were the essence of adult education. A summary of what he believed this meant for the university's program was delineated in an instructor's guide that he had prepared for the short course.[9] The purpose of study groups, as stated in the pamphlet, was to educate for democracy. Since democracy was by definition government by discussion, it was essential that its citizens be informed people. And its involvement of all citizens would make it a powerful form of government. Furthermore, a citizenry that had learned how to make intelligent decisions based on group discussions, would be a strong defense against the present threat to the democratic system. Smith was to make several similar statements about adult education and democracy over the next four years. The statement of purpose was also reminiscent of Frederick Keppel's belief in the benefit of fostering friendship with Canada through adult education for the protection of American democracy.

Thomson's personal type of socialism, however, went well beyond Keppel's belief in adult education for the protection of democracy. For Thomson, who had been steeped in Adler's psychology and his group experience in London, the personal and social could not be separated. "Every study group is an experiment in really decent relationships between people ..." was how he put it in the pamphlet.[10] He went on to explain how a study group working for social change demonstrates that the total is greater than the sum of its parts:

> The fundamental requirement [of effective group work] is that members should believe in the value of the process of interchanging opinions and information and should have faith that human beings can solve their own problems by the *exercise of their combined intelligence*.[11]

As much diversity among members as the group could bear should therefore be encouraged in order to gain the fullest benefit from the experience. Comments such as these were typical of Thomson and reflected a complex belief system which Welton summed up in three words. Transformative, communitarian socialism described Thomson's belief that world change begins with personal transformation, that small scale co-personal experiments (such as group living) are the beginning of a new world order and his commitment to a just and egalitarian social system.[12]

Thomson believed that power should be placed in the hands of the smallest possible group. From this basis of local control over local issues would arise the experience and concern necessary for creating social change at the international level. His belief was reflected in the pamphlet, which stated the goal of the study group as being a revitalized Canada. This would ulitimately lead to mutual understanding and co-operation at the world level. Finally, the pamphlet emphasized the importance of informed discussion, stating that to discuss local, national and international issues as if they did not affect each other was both unintelligent and irresponsible. Uninformed discussions would merely lead to a hardening of individual personal opinions and defeat the purpose of the group, which was to foster co-operation. The pamphlet urged study groups to build up libraries of pamphlets and books which could be obtained from the university. The importance that Thomson consistently placed on reading was in line with the academic nature of the university's sponsorship. The president endorsed the pamphlet, including Thomson's more socialist ideas.

The Organizational Year: January, 1941 to April, 1942

Thomson's first self-appointed task after he became secretary of the Study Groups Division was to evaluate the short course. In so doing, he further delineated his goals for the program. First and foremost, Thomson had noted three possible reasons for some initial resistance toward group work among the participants. They were: suspicion between "urban intelligentsia" and rural farmers, the association of the program with the MFA and its co-operatives and credit unions, and the topic of war which was distasteful to many rural people. Eliminating these three divisive factors from among rural Manitobans was one of Thomson's major concerns throughout his directorship. Decentralization, which for Thomson was essential to citizenship education, was another ongoing concern of his. He referred to it at this early stage, when he suggested that the short course might have been held in several locations, which could have strengthened the group work. Finally, Thomson approved of the geographic distribution of the group and addresses like Swan River, Cook's Creek, LaBroquerie, Winkler, Virden, Tilston, and Roblin show how far-flung and mixed the group was.

During the next four months, Thomson implemented the Study Groups program quickly and extensively. The main study guide entitled, "What the War Means to Me," had been prepared prior to the short course by Professors Clokie, McFarlane and Lower. It presented issues surrounding Canada's involvement in the war in an open-minded fashion, free of propaganda, under such headings as, "Why

Should My Government Enter the War?", "What Can I Expect of a Democracy?" and "Does Nazism Threaten Me?".[13]

An incident that occurred during the course preparation showed that the "non-political" approach of this university-sponsored program was not always accepted as such. Walter Lindal, who was teaching a military training course for enlisted men on campus, criticised its open-minded approach to the war question in an emotion-laden letter to Smith. He took extreme offence at the implication that Canada's participation in the war could be questioned. From statements like, "for good or bad Canada is at war," "let Uncle Sam defend us" and many more, he concluded that, although the course alleged to be free of propaganda, it was indeed "great Nazi propaganda."[14] Interestingly enough, Hank Lower, against whom this criticism was directed, had chided Clokie earlier for being too open-minded in his selection of the course content. Clokie complained to Smith about the falling out that resulted, saying, "It seems to have been thought that I might be slipping something over (i.e. understating the nationalist case) ... I believe that Professor Lower was motivated simply by desire to see a special case (the case) adequately represented."[15] The president responded to both letters without undue concern.

The questioning approach used in the course was certainly less patriotic than that of the AAAE. In 1939, as its response to the war, the AAAE organized a study groups program in which groups across America would gather to discuss matters that would "increase the preparedness of the American mind for war."[16]

Once the secretary had been appointed and the materials prepared, study groups were organized. The original plan had been that participants in the short course - most of who were members of the MFA - would return to their communities and establish study groups. This plan failed, however, and only nine managed to do so. Ray Jones, who was one of the thirty short course participants, gave as likely a reason as any for this failure. "I'm not surprised," he said, "because when you came home you actually had to *start* up a group."[17] Apparently this was quite a challenge for a young farmer like himself.

Undaunted, Thomson sent 390 letters to potential leaders, whose names he had gathered from the Faculty of Education, United and Anglican Churches and Municipal District Secretaries. He got 116 replies and of these, 92 hoped to form a group. This meant that the local leadership would now come mainly from the above groups, instead of from the MFA. In view of the cautionary remarks that had been made during the planning stage about working too closely with an economic group that had ties with the provincial government, this may not have been considered a bad switch.

The letters were followed up with visits by Watson Thomson, and ten faculty members who assisted him in delivering course material and demonstrating its use to potential groups. In February Professor Clokie visited the communities of Carman, Myrtle and Roland. His report on the experience provides insight into what was involved in getting the study groups organized.[18] So as not to miss classes, Clokie made three short trips instead of one. As was common at the time, the roads were either hazardous or blocked and on one trip his car hit the ditch because of a dense fog. In Carman, Clokie met with what he called a typical town group, consisting of a minister, several farmers, a druggist, and "two or three women, sitting solidly together and making no contribution."[19] In Roland, his visit coincided with a young people's meeting at the church, so he met with about thirty people between the ages of three and sixty. Clokie had feared that the rural people might see the course as an attempt by the university to sell the war to them, but he encountered no such sentiments. He reported a healthy interest, both in the nature of the conflict at issue in the war, and in the principles and processes of democracy. He noted that, although agricultural problems did come to the fore, the farmers appeared to be no more limited in their views than anyone else. Clokie concluded that even if they only reached a few alert minds in each community, it would be a worthwhile effort.

Thomson himself travelled extensively to take the program to the people. Tightly scheduled travel itineraries along the extensive rail network of southwestern Manitoba allowed him to make a large number of contacts and still have plenty of time for each visit. He would often plan to catch the last train out of a town at night, and stay for long talks over a meal or late into the night over cups of tea, while he waited for his train. His reports indicate that he enjoyed these visits tremendously, a characteristic he shared with Corbett and Smith. By the end of the first year, 48 groups had been organized in 32 communities. A total of 466 individuals had participated and only three groups were abortive.

In May, 1941, Thomson submitted his first annual report to the president, in which he reviewed the goals and progress of the program. He considered the first goal, that of education for democracy, to have been partly achieved. Thomson reported:

> Perhaps the most valuable result of the whole course, was the way in which it caused an appreciable change of attitude in many members from one of casual cynicism about democracy, emphasizing its failures on the economic level, to one of far more thoughtful respect.[20]

The second goal of building unity and understanding between groups required more work. "The important social role of the study group in breaking down the barriers and working toward general community integration has hardly begun to be played," he wrote. Almost all of the groups were still of homogeneous age, ethnicity, sex and occupation. Furthermore, farmers were channelling all their political energy into the "the removal of farmers' economic grievances, and the promotion of co-operative enterprises (co-operative being conceived as applying only within the occupational group)." And the town people had their own social and sectarian cliques and a "plethora of competing organizations," which inhibited rather than encouraged community spirit and kept leisure-time activity on "a busily uncreative level."[21] Denominational, ethnic and social differences created further barriers.

A third goal, namely retaining the momentum of the adult education movement after the war, reflected the fervour with which Thomson assumed the cause of adult education as he understood it. He hoped to accomplish this goal through socially conscious local leaders who would organize at the community level to carry their vision forward after the war.[22] Thomson reported that "the potential leadership of this class [teachers, inspectors, ministers, priests and other professionals] in the small towns is considerable both in quantity and quality, and the gravity of the national and international crisis is just beginning to energize it in an above-party direction."[23] As it turned out, this group did provide leadership, but unfortunately they were also often the only ones who joined the study groups.

Finally, Thomson was able to report that the extensive visits of himself and faculty members had served to bring the university into a closer relationship with the people by starting to break down some of the barriers between the two groups. Thomson believed that at this stage the value of the visits was as much publicity as assistance. He recommended that field workers be appointed to work at the grass roots level to assist in integrating the university into community life - a method that was being successfully used by the MFA. In the implementation of these goals, Thomson was given almost complete freedom to follow his single minded purpose with the full support of President Smith.

Over the next three years the program staff was expanded, the number of participants grew steadily and new courses were developed. Weekend community conferences were introduced and the use of radio and film followed shortly. During this time of growth, the implementors were continually aware of the experimental nature of the project, and the need to find new and better ways of providing rural adult education. Experimentation was exactly what Keppel had hoped for when he agreed to sponsor the project.

The Program Develops: September, 1941 to May, 1943

In September, 1941, Thomson was promoted from his position as secretary of Study Groups Division to director of the entire program. His first and most urgent job at this time was to solidify the accomplishments of the previous term. The war had played havoc with the 45 study groups which had been successfully established, as men and women enlisted or left their home towns for other wartime work. Those who were left behind became busy with the Red Cross. Thomson set out immediately on a series of visits, encouraging the depleted groups and establishing new ones wherever he could. With an inexhaustible effort, he was able to bring the number of study groups up to 51 by 1942 and to 61 the following year.

A second major task at this stage was the development of more study guides. Here the faculty continued to be involved and by May, 1943, the groups had six courses to choose from, all with a citizenship or wartime theme. Two of the most popular courses were "Canada and the Post-War World" written by Professor McFarlane, and "Democracy Begins at Home" by Professor Grant and Watson Thomson. The latter was a practical course, which guided the group through an examination of its own community, past and present. As an example of how such a course was used, the study group in Newdale assessed its community as part of the course. They found the municipal council to be "cliquey," but they realized from the content of the course that in a democracy, a voluntary group such as theirs was responsible for formulating thinking on community issues and putting pressure on groups like the council to make changes.[24]

Since the beginning of the program, Thomson had doggedly pursued another ambition of his, namely the implementation of technology for distance adult education. Thomson believed that modern forms of communication were crucial to any program in western Canada, because of the extreme distances and the isolation of the people who lived here. In the 1940s technology meant making better use of radio and exploiting the most recent innovation, the documentary film. Minutes of the Adult Education Committee meetings showed that Thomson moved this advisory group step-by-step towards his goal. Within a year and a half, he had achieved a sound beginning and after two and a half, technology was fully incorporated into the Study Groups program.

Thomson had created a radio series to accompany the program during the first year, but his effort had failed due to poor reception and the unavailability of suitable radio time. He was more successful with film. Because of his connections with the National Film Board, Thomson was appointed regional agent of the NFB in the fall of 1942. In October he presented the idea of using film to the Adult Education Committee and convinced the president to purchase a projector. In December he began to establish rural film circuits for the NFB, and showings began on January 5, 1942. In his drive to incorporate new technology into the program, Thomson was also meeting the goal of the Carnegie sponsorship of experimenting with new techniques of adult education.

In March the NFB appointed Stan Rands as regional agent to relieve Thomson. Thomson had first met Rands, who held a social theory similar to his own, while at the University of Alberta, and in 1942 both resided at 139 Roslyn Road. This was a community that Thomson had created in 1941 in Winnipeg based on his group experience in London. The purpose of the group at Roslyn Road was to study, work and live together and so begin to build a better world. Several other Adult Education Office and NFB staff were members of the Roslyn Road community over the years.

When Rands joined the NFB it was agreed among himself, Thomson and Smith that two thirds of Rands' salary would come from the NFB, and the remainder from the adult education budget. In this way the NFB and the adult education program functioned like a single unit in Manitoba. This close association meant that the NFB film circuits, which had been largely established for political wartime purposes of information and propaganda, would be used for purposes of adult education. This appears to have been a deliberate move on the part of the three program implementors.

One of John Grierson's regrets about the medium of film was that it required no active participation on the part of the viewer. From a social adult education perspective this was unacceptable, and Rands set out to correct this weakness. He began immediately to include discussion in the monthly film showings and then to develop discussion materials that could be used without his supervision. The first was a series of lecture notes for introducing the feature film of each month. The second was a novel idea - which was incorporated by the NFB - that used the medium itself as supplementary material. It was a type of short film called a "Discussion Trailer" that raised issues dealt with in feature films and also demonstrated discussion techniques. The film showing, together with discussion activities, was known as film forum. In this way, the NFB's program, which was clearly political, was adapted under Rands' supervision to include the more educational goals of the university. The discussions, of course, were of a social nature, as was the entire Study Group program that Thomson was implemented.

The film forums proved to be mutually beneficial for all involved. For the

NFB it meant that the rural circuits were well supervised. Rands, in turn, saw the study groups as being beneficial to the film forums, noting that where the two existed side by side, the quality of the film forums improved. For Smith and the university, film showings meant the enhancement of the Study Groups program and a tremendous increase in the number of communities contacted. By April, 1943, five rural circuits had been established covering 100 points, and attendance for the month of April alone was 27,960. A year later there were eight circuits, and the attendance in April was 38,000.

Thomson was pleased as well, but for a different reason. To supervise the monthly film nights, local committees were usually organized. "These committees," stated Thomson, "represent a very significant development as they point toward the formation of community councils to coordinate the activities of all groups taking responsibility for the cultural, social and educational life of the community."[25] The rural community, according to Thomson, was an ideal size to function as an active democratic unit, to begin the process of transforming a capitalist society into a co-operative one at the grass roots.[26] Community development, including co-operative enterprises, indigenous expressions of art and culture and community councils to coordinate adult education activities, was therefore part of the social change process. If adult education was synonymous with citizenship education, and if this meant training citizens to assume their share of control of the political life of the nation, then councils to coordinate adult education programs would serve a highly political purpose.[27]

Thomson would later implement his vision of government through community units, as director of adult education for the CCF government in Saskatchewan, and it seems reasonable to conclude that he would already have been thinking along those lines in 1944. It is highly unlikely that the university community shared Thomson's vision, or that even the sympathetic Smith would have agreed with its political implications. The university, after all, was to be an "unbiased," "non-political" institution. And this is certainly what the members of the Carnegie Corporation believed as well.

In keeping with Thomson's goal of decentralization, the first of a succession of weekend community conferences was organized for May 30 and 31, 1942, in Killarney. Its purpose was two-fold: to extend study group activities into the community, and to provide guidance and help for the groups. University faculty and the Adult Education Office staff provided assistance in planning and expertise on topics that were covered. Although the weather was inclement - which inevitably meant poor road conditions - 125 adults attended, representing 15 communities. Strathclair, which is about 300 kilometres northwest of Killarney by modern roads, and Roland, which is about 250 kilometres west, were the most distant groups represented.

The topics for this and subsequent conferences were a mixture of community development and citizenship education. The program consisted of community singing, panel discussions, documentary films, discussions of the study groups' activities, a Sunday morning address in the United Church by President Smith, and a lively public forum on the topic, "Can this be a war to end wars?" Three faculty members participated in the conference.[28]

Three more conferences were held the following year in Shoal Lake in January, Deloraine in April, and Great Falls in May. Attendance was 46, 70, and 45 respectively, with attendance at public forums being much greater. Drama and Arts and Crafts were also included in these subsequent conferences and increased local planning was making them more practical and "economic" in nature.

The 1942-43 term began with a new name for the project, namely the Adult Education Office, and an assistant director for Thomson. Stanley Rands was appointed to this new position and William Dougall, another resident of 139 Roslyn Road, took his place in the film circuits. The NFB named Rands its western regional director at the same time. This meant that the association between the NFB and the Adult Education Office remained strong.

Not only was this a year of much growth and program development, it was also personally exciting for its director. In the spring of 1942, Thomson received an invitation from John Marshall of the Rockefeller Foundation to join a group of researchers at Montana State College who were studying the economic and social conditions of the Great Plains (Palliser Triangle).[29] In spite of having just completed an extremely busy year at the university, and although he was to be married that summer, Thomson accepted the invitation eagerly. The experience meant an exposure to a whole new world of adult education in the western United States; he wrote ecstatically to Smith from Montana, "I sometimes feel overstimulated to the point of explosion by the things that are going on here. I should have absorbed enough hints to keep Manitoba going for years."[30]

The study culminated in a new study guide which they called "The Northern Plains in a World of Change." Thomson envisioned the course becoming an important resource for rural adult education in the west, and made plans to promote it as such. This did not materialize because Marshall viewed it strictly as a research project, but it did add another course to the offerings of the Adult Education Office. Also, the fact that Thomson had been invited to work with a major foundation served to lend credence to a program that was periodically under criticism for its socialist leanings.

The year ended for Thomson with another exciting involvement in the larger adult education scene. This was the year that he served on the Special Program Committee of the CAAE which drafted the "The Manifesto." Shortly after the document was endorsed at the London Conference in May, Thomson and Corbett laid the plans for the Citizens' Forum, the latest form of adult education for social change. At this, the height of the socialist influence on the CAAE, the director of the Adult Education Office was immersed in its activities, and as mentioned earlier Smith was there with him. At the same time, the university project itself was approaching the peak of its development.

The Peak of the Program: 1943-1944

The 1943-44 term was characterized by tremendous numerical and geographical growth and an expanded, fully developed program of study groups, films, conferences and for the first time, radio forum. A choice of twelve courses was now available to study groups. Eight were related to war, citizenship and community issues, but four new courses were of a liberal nature. "Child Psychology," "Art Appreciation," "Music Appreciation" and "Public Speaking" were all courses that were taught in the Evening Institute, and their inclusion in the rural program provided a balance to the citizenship emphasis, as Smith had proposed that it should. It was also the first sign of an amalgamation of the various adult education offerings of the university.

Meanwhile, NFB films, although not becoming more academic, were moving away from wartime propaganda and becoming more useful to the Study Groups Division. Thomson travelled to Ottawa at least once during the year to make suggestions for new films, and in his annual report he stated that more films about community problems would be available as a result. The films most successful in promoting discussion were those with an economic content, such as credit unions, co-operatives, hospital units, hot school lunches, and agricultural policies and world food planning. These topics were similar to those covered by the MFA study group program.

Four more communities benefited from community conferences in 1944. Carman hosted one in January, Gilbert Plains in February, Souris in March and Gladstone in April. The theme for all four was "Post-War Plans for Your Town and District," and they were held in conjunction with the Post-war Planning Committee. The committee, directed by Professor W.J. Waines from the University of Manitoba, was a federal government project to help communities prepare for life after the war. The Adult Education Office co-operated with Waines wherever it could.

Municipal councils, boards of trade and town councils were fully involved in planning the conferences this year and groups like the Women's Institute, the Pool Elevator and the MFA participated as well. In Gilbert Plains, Thomson found that the support of the latter two was valuable, but that it also meant some differences of opinion between the urban university and rural farmers. At the same time he believed the input had brought the citizen and the expert closer together. "Gilbert Plains" he concluded, "is more ready for a community council than any other town in

Manitoba."[31] The local ownership of adult education that Thomson was hoping to instill through the conferences was not yet fully achieved, however. About the Gladstone Conference, Thomson reported:

> As our work is still "something from the outside," the local committee did not really take full responsibility and were liable to 'pass the buck' back to the Director and staff at unexpected and inconvenient moments. Such schools can hardly be an unqualified success in any community where no group has yet decided to take full responsibility itself for adult education activities in the community.[32]

The local groups that were involved in planning did serve to make the conferences ever more practical. This was as the program directors would have it, but for Thomson practical community projects were not enough. About the Souris Conference, he commented that an elevated and responsive mood had been created by a joint church service and he hoped that conferences would foster a higher intellectual and spiritual level of society as well as community projects.[33]

By far the most significant feature of the 1943-44 term was the introduction of Citizens' Forum. Like the rural film circuits, Citizens' Forum was an independent project, but it was sponsored by the University of Manitoba and functioned as part of the Adult Education Office. For the university, it meant a whole new department for its small adult education program and a great increase in program participants. Tannis Murray was appointed urban listening group organizer to supervise the Winnipeg listening groups that were organized and became part of the adult education program.

For study group participants, the radio program meant a new and very popular course of studies, and it was chosen by 85 of 132 groups (64%) as their topic of study for the year. They were already familiar with radio forum through the well-known Farm Forum, and were eager to try a new program for a more general audience. The broadcasts also helped the groups to keep their discussions focused. For Thomson and Corbett, implementor and sponsor respectively, the Citizens' Forum was an achievement in the use of technology for citizenship education.

By May, 1944, the total number of study groups was 175, (almost triple that of the previous year) located in 59 communities. Total attendance at the film showings was over one-third of a million, with an average monthly attendance of 34,000 over a twelve-month period. At the end of this, the most successful year of the Adult Education Office, Thomson submitted a report to the board of directors in which he commented on the relationship between the university sponsorship and adult education. His comments, which are most useful to a study such as this, began with a definition of adult education.

> The comparatively new and still amorphous field of adult education is generally felt, in the matter of jurisdiction, to be somewhere between the formal school system and the senior academic world of the University. More often than not, Universities have accepted the central responsibility for Adult Education as part of their Extension obligations. It should be remembered, however, that University Extension activity, in its earlier and stricter forms, has other objectives than has Adult Education. The former is concerned with academic standards, the latter with standards of citizenship.[34]

It would appear that for Thomson, adult education meant citizenship, not liberal education, no matter what the setting.

In accordance with his definition, Thomson gave the purpose of a university adult education program as: the encouragement of good citizenship, the promotion of a more conscious and integrated community life, and the assistance of the individual's personal fulfilment in the cultural and creative direction. Thomson then made several recommendations for expanding the Adult Education Office so as to achieve these goals.

1. The present study groups should develop into community councils of adult education.
2. Drama and Fine Arts should take on a more indigenous form.
3. Citizenship education should be extended to new Canadians.
4. Some technical education could be offered as part of the university's evening program.
5. A university radio station should be established.
6. A means of supporting film circuits would need to be found after the war.

7. The prime responsibility of the University Adult Education Office should be the training of local leadership.

8. The University of Manitoba would be a suitable place to establish a training centre for adult educators.

9. A provincial adult education association should be established.

10. The adult Education Office should be regionalized with possible centres at Dauphin, Birtle, Souris and Carman.

11. A Department of Extension and Adult Education should be established.[35]

To summarize, recommendations like community councils, indigenous art forms and immigrant citizenship education had been mentioned before, but Thomson now introduced a new role for the university in the field. As local forms of adult education developed, the university would take on a more academic role of providing expertise, leadership and coordination to the program, training local leadership, and offering professional training for adult educators.

Thomson's vision for the future of adult education at the University of Manitoba was optimistic. While it was true that the president had given active leadership to the project, faculty members had supported the program generously with their time and Thomson's recommendations were made at the height of the adult education movement when other universities were implementing extension departments, neither the board of governors nor the Department of Education had given any indication of plans for permanent funding for the program. Therefore, Thomson's recommendations remained dependent on the continuing vision of the president for adult education, the dedication of program directors for this type of project and the availability of funding from outside sources. As it turned out, none of these conditions were realized.

On May 11, 1944, President Sidney Smith resigned to accept a position at University of Toronto that would lead shortly to the presidency. He was replaced by Dr. H.P. Armes as acting head, while a search for a new president could be made. In view of Smith's strong leadership style and the fact that a program of adult education was a personal goal of his, his resignation undoubtedly had a major impact on the tenuous future of the Adult Education Office. Smith's correspondence at this time indicated that, although he continued to support the project, he was now concentrating on transferring his many responsibilities to his successor. The temporary nature of his successor's position surely did not improve the chances of a permanent adult education program either. Finally, Board Chairman A.K. Dysart, who had been a member of the Adult Education Committee and a supporter of Smith's many new programs, resigned in April.

At the same time, financial support for the project was due to expire. The Carnegie grant was guaranteed only until April 30, 1945, and the Rockefeller grants for Drama until the end of August. The future of rural circuits was also in question with the end of the war in sight. This left the Adult Education Office with little hope for funding for the next year.

The Final Year: 1944 - 1945

The underlying tone of the following year was one of uncertainty about the future, balanced by an energetic effort on the part of the staff to carry on the program, and to convince the funders of its worth. Corresponding to the mood of uncertainty was a series of staff resignations and changes. In July, 1944, Stan Rands became full-time director of the NFB for Manitoba, and Tannis Murray replaced him as part-time assistant director of the Adult Education Office. On September 30, she resigned to take up a new position with the CBC in Toronto and Mary Bishop replaced her as coordinator of Citizens' Forum. On October 31, the film librarian resigned because of ill health and family concerns and then in October, Watson Thomson himself resigned.[36]

Tommy Douglas had invited Thomson to join his new CCF government as director of adult education, and Thomson accepted. No doubt the timing of the invitation was a factor in Thomson's decision to leave the university. In February, 1942, the CBC had offered Thomson a position which he had declined, saying, "I cannot leave my job here in its delicate formative state..."[37] Now the program had matured, and the uncertainty of ongoing funding put Thomson's position with the university in jeopardy. Welton adds that Thomson was also questioning his role as leader of 139 Roslyn Road. Differences of opinion with a leading group member were creating doubts in Thomson's mind about the whole concept of group living and the Saskatchewan invitation provided an opportunity to get away to reflect. Welton further suggests that Thomson felt that a position with a democratic socialist government would allow him complete freedom to implement a program of adult education according to his beliefs. Certainly Smith had given him much freedom in Manitoba but, according to Welton, Thomson had constantly felt the need to be sensitive to the institutional constraints of the university.[38]

Thomson's resignation meant the loss of a dedicated, visionary director, but the program was fortunate in finding a competent replacement in Stan Rands. Will Dougall replaced Rands with the NFB and on January 15, 1945, Jack Sword was appointed assistant director, once again completing the staff of the Adult Education Office. This flurry of resignations meant that not only did the program lose its director but each area of the Study Groups Division - films, Citizens' Forum and study groups - now had a new coordinator. The changes took their toll on the preparations for the new term, but Rands seems to have put the program back on a running basis in remarkably short order. He had the advantage of being well-acquainted with all aspects of the program and sharing Thomson's vision for its future. He seems to have been dedicated to saving the project.

Although the two directors had much in common, they were quite different in at least one area. It may have been as much a matter of method as philosophy, but Rands demonstrated a less spiritual and psychological approach to adult education, and his reports indicate that he was altogether more practical than his predecessor. At this tenuous stage in the program it was, of course, important that Rands demonstrate tangible results, and that his reports reflect that, but Rands seems to have been generally satisfied with practical community projects. Whereas Thomson was constantly looking for deeper intellecual and spiritual insights among program participants, Rands considered such projects as Home and School Associations, skating rinks and honey processing plants as evidence of success. He wrote:

> These are but the more striking examples of a trend that becomes increasingly general - a trend to make study meaningful and effective in terms of concrete problems and specific needs .... This is balanced, with a good deal of study of national and international issues, in such courses as "Citizens' Forum," and "Canada and the Post-War World" and "The Peace we Want."[39]

Interestingly enough, Rands also reported an increase in requests for reading material, indicating that participants were putting more time into study.[40] This was something Thomson had not been able to achieve.

In keeping with his practical approach, Rands encouraged the study groups to continue their co-operation with the Post-war Planning Committee which was carrying out community surveys to assess the possibilities of post-war employment. In several communities the study groups took on these surveys, and Rands reported that this was also advantageous to the Adult Education Office.

> In addition to the intrinsic value of this project, the association of the study groups with it, appears to be having the very desirable effect of giving a new local prestige to the study groups and counteracting the feeling which prevailed in some communities that the study groups were too academic and detached from community life.[41]

Rands' comments also indicate that the ongoing weakness in the program - attracting largely the most educated members of the rural communities - was still a factor.

On the other hand, the Citizens' Forum met one of its key objectives in Manitoba in 1945. The forum had been created in 1943 as a means of mass communication among citizens, and from Rands' annual report this appears to have happened through the Adult Education Office. Since the program began, study groups had been recording their conclusions for submission to the university. Now reports from Citizens' Forum groups were summarized and used as the basis for "Citizens' Provincial News." This was a weekly four minute spot on Winnipeg Radio CKY after the national news. Once a month an interpretative summary of the conclusions of the Manitoba groups was presented as part of a symposium of input from all provinces. This process, according to Rands, allowed listening groups to examine their own conclusions in the context of the views of others. He considered the interactive news broadcasts to be the most valuable feature of the Citizens' Forum program.[42] The fact that the reports were broadcast right after the national news, on a major Manitoba station at a time when Canadians were closely tuned to the radio, must be seen as a significant achievement for socialist adult educators who stressed the empowerment of all citizens through the communication of their ideas.

Decentralization through community conferences was another achievement that Rands was able to report. Four conferences were held in 1945 in Boissevain, Eriksdale, Lundar and Killarney, making a total of twelve in all. Their locations represented the entire southern half of the province. Rands' analysis of the increased local input into the conferences was positive, but at the same time it again raised the issue of the appropriateness of a university sponsored program of adult education. The content of the conferences was becoming steadily less educational and fewer speakers were selected from the university. In Killarney, for example, Waines was asked to speak on "Public Surveys and Community Planning." "Youth Centres and Recreation Programs" was dealt with by the National Director of Canadian Physical Fitness. Other topics, such as "Rural Electrification" and "The Provincial Hospital Plan" did not require the academic expertise of faculty members like Clokie, McFarlane or Grant. In fact Rands found that when local people chose the conference topics, they rarely, without persuasion, included subjects that went beyond the community to the national or international issues.[43]

For the time being, however, Rands believed that the trend was justified. His reasons were as follows:

> In our conferences, however, where new interest in adult education is being sought, and foundations laid for future work, it seems desirable to stress those local issues in which interest is keen and on which concrete action can be taken. Adult education must establish itself, at least in part, by its relevance to those issues which are of most immediate concern to the people of the community. Where that start is made it will be possible to push on to broader fields of interest and a fuller acceptance of citizenship.[44]

Although justifiable, comments like the following indicate that Rands felt it necessary to explain an economic form of adult education in a university sponsored program.

> It is our constant aim to keep a balance between the two objectives of improved local citizenship and better informed citizenship at the national and international levels.
>
> ...
>
> Fortunately what would otherwise be a one-sided emphasis is very adequately corrected by the Citizens' Forum program with its treatment of national and world issues.[45]

Rands' conclusions about the relationship between the practical and the academic were reminiscent of Smith's advocacy of a well-rounded citizenship education, Corbett's recognition that economics had to be dealt with before adults would be interested in citizenship or liberal education, and Keppel's overriding interest in the experimental nature of the project. Implementing citizenship education in the way that Thomson had defined it would have to wait until the people were ready for it.

In spite of a weak beginning, the year ended with record participation, and evidence that the Study Groups Division had come a long way from its beginning in 1941. A total of 542 courses had been distributed and 114 sets had been sent out of the province. The original 45 study groups had quadrupled in number and the program of studies had been fully developed to include film forums, citizenship as well as liberal education courses, Citizens' Forum and locally planned weekend conferences. The latter had brought into question the purpose of a university sponsored program.

CONCLUSION

While the weekend conferences raised the issue of local needs in relation to university sponsorship, the entire implementation process of the Study Groups Division had been an interaction between the goals of the sponsors and the definition of adult education held by the implementors. Frederick Keppel had stated that the Carnegie Corporation could support only middle-of-the-road projects, and the University of Manitoba was self consciously a public institute that was careful not to espouse any "ism" or political view. And the plans for the Adult Education Office had been laid with the interest of the Carnegie Corporation and some of the more cautionary suggestions of the university community in mind. Meanwhile Corbett had recommended, and Smith had chosen, Watson Thomson to implement the program. Thomson was one of the radical educators in the adult education movement who believed that the ultimate goal of a study group was to eventually convert a capitalist society into a co-operative one. It is not surprising, therefore, that, as Welton pointed out, throughout the implementation process Thomson had constantly felt the institutional constraints of the university on his program.

On the other hand, both Thomson and Rands, although they had to steer carefully within the framework set by the sponsoring institutions, had implemented a study groups program very much as they envisioned it. What resulted was a fine balance between the two separate agendas, which can be traced throughout the life of the Study Groups Division. The selection of trusted faculty members to write the study guides was balanced by an open-ended questioning approach to wartime issues that caused some concern. In keeping with the goals of all three sponsors, Thomson travelled extensively to spread the program across the province, but he himself was driven by a concern to implement the program as extensively as possible while the fervour of what was now a social movement of adult education lasted. The study groups discussed the defense of democracy as Keppel had intended, but in a manner that was much less patriotic than that of their American counterpart. The experimental use of radio and film was something that would have pleased Keppel and the AAAE, while the content of the Citizens' Forum was socialist enough to cause an angry response from the Canadian government. At the height of the adult education movement Thomson prepared "The Manifesto" with its democratic socialist tenets, but at the same time, the president of the University of Manitoba addressed the CAAE in the spirit of a social movement. At the end of the four and a half years, the question of the appropriateness of university sponsorship of rural adult education had been raised several times. The issue of economic education, which neither the sponsors nor the implementors espoused, also kept recurring and both Thomson and Rands recognised the need for a clarification of sponsorship goals.

What was clear throughout the implementation process was that the program had the full support of President Smith. His support, as well as the endorsement of the CAAE, were key factors that enabled Thomson and Rands to freely implement a program of social adult education. But because of the nature of the university's sponsorship, the social program that they developed was of a fairly rigorous academic level.

The nature of Smith's involvement in the Adult Education Office and his trust in, and support of, Watson Thomson was even more clearly illustrated in the implementation of the two other divisions that were also part of the rural program. These components of the Adult Education Office are described next.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 3

1. UMA, Minutes, U of M Board of Governors, 14 November 1940.

2. IBID.

3. UMA, UN20, 24-6, Smith to Watson Thomson, 06 December, 1940.

4. The salary for a secretary of the advisory committee was budgeted at $600. Office space was to be shared with the war educational services and therefore cost nothing, but a stenographer would be hired for $400. Office supplies were budgeted at $200, and travel allowances for the secretary at $400. Faculty would be used as resource persons and the cost of their visits was budgeted at $10 a visit to a total of $800. A sum of $1500 was set aside for materials and books and $200 for drama and craft materials. Travel for short course participants was expected to cost $200 and the and the stipend for the guest speaker $200. A salary for a part-time instructor of Drama and Arts and Crafts was budgeted at $500 and $200 respectively. See Minutes, U of M Board of Governors, 14 November 1940.

5. UMA, UN20, 24-6, Corbett to Smith, 12 January 1939.

6. UMA, UN20, 24-6, Donald Cameron to Smith, 28 November 1940.

7. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," pp. 1-91.

8. IBID.

9. Watson Thomson, Group Discussion Methods. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1943.

10. IBID, p. 3.

11. IBID, p. 27. Italics mine.

12. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," p. 4.

13. UMA, UN20, 22-2, Hugh Clokie, List of pamphlets for study groups, n.d.

14. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Walter Lindal to Smith, 19 March 1941.

15. UMA, UN20, 24-6, Clokie to Smith, 25 December 1940.

16. Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement, p. 197.

17. Interview, Ray Jones and Lottie Jones, 26 January 1990 and 28 March 1991.

18. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Clokie to Smith, 07 February 1941.

19. IBID.

20. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Watson Thomson, Report on Study Groups Progress, January - April 1941 (hereafter WT, RSGP, 1941).

21. IBID, p. 9.

22. IBID, p. 10.

23. IBID, p. 9.

24. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Stan Rands to Smith, 08 May 1942.

25. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Thomson to Smith, 31 May 1943.

26. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," p. 166.

27. Ormand McKague, "The Saskatchewan CCF," p. 152.

28. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Watson Thomson, Report of the General Office Study Groups and Films, 1941-1942.

29. UMA, UN20, 36-3, Smith to John Marshall, 30 June 1942.

30. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Thomson to Smith, 25 July 1942.

31. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Thomson to Smith, 19 February 1944.

32. UMA, UN20, 61-4, Thomson to Smith, 25 May 1944.

33. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Watson Thomson, Report on Souris Weekend Community School, 19 March 1944.

34. UMA, UN20, 61-2, Thomson to Smith, 25 May 1944.

35. IBID.

36. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Stan Rands, Report of the Adult Education Office, October 1944 - March 1945.

37. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Thomson to General Manager CBC, 20 February 1942.

38. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," p. 305.

39. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Rands to President Armes, 06 March 1945.

40. IBID.

41. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Rands to Armes, 15 December 1944.

42. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Stan Rands, Report [illegible] the Adult Education Office, October 1944 - March 1945.

43. IBID.

44. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Stan Rands, Report of the Adult Education Office, October 1944 - March 1945.

45. IBID.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLEMENTORS - DRAMA AND ARTS AND CRAFTS

The proposal of 1936 stated that study groups were to spearhead the extension program of the University of Manitoba, but that other activities, such as handicrafts and drama, would "supplement the work of the study groups and thus foster a fuller life in the rural communities."[1] Although both were considered respected forms of education in the 1940s, neither drama nor arts and crafts fit neatly into either the social or liberal category of adult education described in this study. Perhaps for this reason, the implementation of these two subsidiary divisions of the Adult Education Office provides a striking example of how much control the implementors did or did not have in shaping the program according to their own definitions of adult education. The interaction of philosophies did not take place between sponsor and implementor in this case, but between Thomson and the other directors. This description of the two lesser divisions demonstrates the extent of the trust and authority that Smith placed in Thomson to shape the Adult Education Office according to his personal agenda. It also adds a dimension to the story of the Adult Education Office that has not been told elsewhere, but which was very much part of the project.

THE DRAMA DIVISION

Prior to the short course in 1940, Milton Osborne, Professor of Fine Arts and member of the advisory committee, had suggested that Drama be separated from Arts and Crafts. This was done and two program divisions were created, with Drama turning out to be the more successful of the two. Drama was considered a valid form of adult education and programs in the field were part of the adult education movement. Sandiford had included drama in his survey of 1935 and E.A. Corbett had been one of the founders of the Banff School of Fine Arts in the thirties. He described conditions which led the creation of the school:

> The result [of the depression] was the growth of hundreds of small dramatic or little theatre groups. A great many of these, particularly in the villages and rural communities, knew very little about choosing a play or how to stage it. Plays chosen were often such inane and worthless scripts as Deacon Stubbs of Perkins Corner, or similar drivel.[2]

The purpose of the Banff School was to provide much needed education to improve the situation of Drama and other art forms in rural Alberta.[3]

Community drama had long been a familiar concept to rural Manitobans. Chautauqua, a travelling show developed in the twenties, had always included drama and was still fresh in the memories of many. As Corbett described above, the Depression that followed in the thirties forced people to turn to community drama as a form of inexpensive entertainment or a method of fund raising, and in Manitoba the MFA circulated a library of light, entertaining plays for use in these productions. Not all drama was as inadequate as Corbett believed, however. If a community were fortunate it would have at least one local person with natural talent or even training in drama, who would produce plays that were performed with a fair amount of skill.[4]

With the role of drama being what it was in rural communities, it is perhaps not surprising that the directors of the Drama Division of the Adult Education Office would see it as an independent entity rather than as a supplement to the Study Groups Division.

The Drama Division Under Russell and Sinclair

John Russell was a professor of Architecture at the University of Manitoba who had been teaching Drama at the Evening Institute. When asked by President Smith to chair the Drama subcommittee, he accepted without hesitation. Russell and his fellow instructor, Edith Sinclair, had been hoping for some time to extend their drama courses into rural Manitoba. Sinclair was trained in dramatics and voice production and, upon Russell's recommendation, she was appointed secretary of the Drama Division in December, 1940. Russell and Sinclair seem to have had a plan for rural drama in place well before the short course, which Sinclair instructed.

On May 27, 1940, Russell, prompted by his "keen interest in seeing the university take a lead in dramatics in Manitoba," had presented his ideas in a letter to the president. He wrote:

> So many efforts, the Manitoba Drama League included, have seemed to result in dismal failures that the time seems opportune for the University to make some constructive move. Your mention to me that a part of the Adult Education program might be directed toward dramatics ... has suggested to my mind the possibility of the University undertaking dramatic work throughout the Province by way of the radio, plus a lending library and central office for information, direction, etc. Registered groups could be organized to meet for radio talks; these beginnings could be followed up when necessary or advisable by actual contacts, illustrated lectures, demonstrations, adjudications, etc.[5]

Russell's suggestions were implemented much as he had outlined them.

In January, 1941, Russell and Sinclair presented to President Smith a three-phase program plan, in which Sinclair described her approach to drama. "The dramatist gives us in a play an image of life as he sees it with an artist's sense of form and order," she explained. "The job of the actor is to discover the pattern of life that the dramatist wishes to portray. Therefore drama must be approached through the mind."[6] Sinclair's definition and Russell's earlier comments indicate that the educational orientation of the Drama Division was to be "cultural" or liberal rather than social.

The first phase of the program plan was leadership training, which had been accomplished through the short course in December. Seven participants were trained and six established drama groups in their hometowns. The second phase was creating and hosting a weekly radio broadcast which they called "Consider the Play." The broadcasts consisted of dialogues between Sinclair and Russell on such topics as lighting, voice, costumes and staging, and listening groups were organized around the broadcasts. The third phase was establishing play reading groups, in which members would read and discuss plays following a guide prepared by Sinclair and Russell.

In spite of her part-time status, Sinclair took on several projects besides the broadcasts and drama groups. The listening and play reading groups required an extensive lending library of plays which she selected, mimeographed, rebound and distributed with a minimal amount of office help. Another time consuming project was producing *The Prairie Callboy*, a quarterly educational news bulletin for use by the drama groups. Sinclair also assisted play production groups when called upon, and carried on an active correspondence with drama group members. During the first four months, 24 listening groups, with a total of 184 members, and 19 play reading groups with 169 members, were organized, which was only five fewer than the Study Groups Division had achieved. It appears that Edith Sinclair, like Watson Thomson, had an indefatigable energy to implement a program according to her own philosophy of drama.

Although Sinclair was implementing a Drama program of largely a liberal nature, she was aware of the social emphasis of the Adult Education Office. At one point Smith commended her for emphasizing the "sociological" value of community drama, and Sinclair replied that she was "enormously interested that this expression of opinion should come to [her] in a discussion of the subject of drama."[7] She expressed her pleasure at the observation and quoted a letter from a listener who had involved her entire community in the production of a play. Sinclair added that they hoped to interest a number in the study of economic and social questions in the fall.[8]

How sincere Sinclair's comments were is not clear, since she also expressed a strong distaste for what she called the "socialist" element in the university project, and it soon became obvious that Mrs. Sinclair did not like Watson Thomson. This may have been due to a conflict of personalities as much as a difference in ideologies, for Russell and Sinclair, although highly qualified, made a rather formidable team. This first became apparent in a letter that Russell wrote on behalf of the drama secretary, asking Smith to approve a new title for her. "Mrs. Sinclair feels that to be called a secretary is a step backward, when she has been a director and a producer for a number of years," he wrote, and "the title of secretary suggests that the committee did not endorse her ability and endeavours."[9] Unperturbed, Smith replied that a change in title posed no problem for him, but that he was drawing the line at using "director" or "assistant director" for her position.

A few days later Russell wrote again, this time to complain about an article in the *University Bulletin*. The offending article had described the Arts and Crafts Division in full length, while Drama was given only a few lines. This was the beginning of a series of somewhat peevish letters from Russell to Smith, sometimes on behalf of Mrs. Sinclair and sometimes on his own account, that eventually culminated in a serious flare-up between the Drama and Study Groups Divisions. For the time being, however, the Drama Division flourished.

Despite the fact that 43 groups had been established, three were singled out for special attention. Grant Wilkes, who was a friend of Russell's, directed one of these groups in Rivers, where he was a station agent and the local drama enthusiast. Wilkes made a great fuss about having Mrs. Sinclair join his group for a walking rehearsal of a drama, and applauded, in glowing terms "that brilliant lady's personality," "her skill at drawing people out," her ability to "imbue with enthusiasm" and her excellent contribution to the rural drama scene in general.[10] In the same letter to Russell he expressed his contempt for other drama efforts in Rivers. The group at Neepawa, which was directed by Harry Dunn, was the second one to receive special attention. Dunn was also a station agent and he had recently moved to Neepawa from Winnipeg. There he had been a member of the Phoenix Club and rubbed shoulders with some of that city's more educated citizens. Dunn himself had only a high school education but was self-educated at a much higher level, and had been appointed as a reader by the Anglican Church. He was known as a man who put on plays wherever he went, while his artist wife was in charge of staging and sets.[11] In Brandon, Kaye Rowe of the Brandon Little Theatre directed a drama group that attracted the attention of Mrs. Sinclair. Rowe was a local drama expert who produced and adjudicated plays, and did some instructing herself. When the Drama Division established a scholarship to the Banff School of Fine Arts, Rowe, who was the most qualified of all the group leaders, was its first recipient.

All three local leaders were already quite capable of directing drama and were appreciative of input from an expert like Mrs. Sinclair. This fact and the selection of Rowe for the scholarship indicate that Russell and Sinclair saw their role as providing expertise to experienced dramatists rather than teaching basic principles and technique to the uninitiated. This approach continued to be evident in the Drama Division.

By March, 1942, sixty groups had been organized and the need for closer contact with them was apparent. Unlike Thomson, Sinclair visited only a couple of groups each year, and she chose to solve the communication problem by forming an advisory committee of "drama enthusiasts" to meet in Winnipeg.[12] The purpose of the first meeting, which was held on May 1, 1942, was to plan a leadership school to be held on May 29. Wilkes, Dunn, Rowe and six other successful drama group leaders attended the school which was also held in Winnipeg. Among other issues, this group discussed the state of drama in rural Manitoba. Sinclair's assessment of the situation was that the province was flooded with a lot of worthless plays which were largely distributed by the MFA.[13] Like Corbett, she saw a great need to improve the quality of rural community drama.

In her centralized approach to communication, Sinclair was entirely out of line with Thomson's goal of decentralizing the Adult Education Office, and he informed her of that. Sinclair, in turn, justified the leadership school, arguing that it would serve to equip the "drama-minded" with the skills to form decentralized drama centres, where surrounding communities could obtain the assistance they needed.[14] In a similar vein, Russell had stated earlier that the Drama Department, as he called it, should become a central bureau of information.[15] In his 1941-42 year-end report, he reiterated his and Sinclair's goal of providing expertise as opposed to serving the inexperienced. He also clarified that theirs was an educational, not an adjudicatory role.[16] Although these objectives did not agree with Thomson's, they were reminiscent of the professionalism fostered by the AAAE, and were not unlike Corbett's own goals for rural drama.

Russell's report also demonstrated statistical growth. The number of library books had increased from 200 to 966, and there were now 100 full length plays and 115 one act plays available in multiple copies. In addition, the library had accumulated 525 titles in single copy, and Sinclair had created an annotated list of titles in catalogue form. *Prairie Call Boy* had a circulation of 525 for the first issue, 325 for the second and 350 for the third. Listening group numbers were down to 20 with a membership of 169, because of poor radio reception, but play reading groups had increased to 18 with 182 members. Over 30 play production groups had received assistance from the university as well. Finally, Sinclair had answered 200 letters from inquirers and visited six groups.

For the following year, Russell recommended office space renovations, secretarial help, a telephone, new library additions, a drama conference in Winnipeg and drama schools in three locations. Thomson had been made director of the Adult Education Office by this time, and any program changes had to meet with his approval. Thomson, meanwhile, consulted with the president on all decisions of any consequence, and Smith inevitably endorsed Thomson's recommendations. This meant that Smith and Thomson's understanding of what the Drama Division was to accomplish would be of some consequence to the plans of Russell and Sinclair.

Several differences of opinion have already been referred to. In an article in the *Prairie Call Boy,* Thomson stated his opinion more explicitly, laying out a three-fold purpose for the drama program.[17] First, Thomson clarified that the program was designed to serve rural Manitobans. "Whom do we serve?" he asked. "We serve the country, not the city." Secondly, with the understanding that country living was healthier than city life, the university was striving to stop the increasing flow of rural Manitobans into the cities. Drama was one means of making country living more appealing. Thirdly, the program was to encourage country folk to write and produce indigenous plays. Drama, stated Thomson, should tell about life as it was and westerners should express themselves through this medium, because the rest of the nation needed to hear the unique message they had to contribute. This process, he concluded, "may well serve to awaken democracy at its roots."[18]

In a later edition of *Prairie Call Boy,* Smith outlined the purpose of the Drama Division as he perceived it.[19] His objectives were similar to Thomson's in their social implications and reflected his particular interpretation of citizenship education. "Drama," he wrote, "spurs the intellect and emotions and develops the faculty of imagination through which we may plan for making Canada a land fit for heros."[20]

Like other forms of adult education, drama should help to create a better post-war world, insuring that the war would not be fought in vain. Smith further related drama to the enhancement of the democratic system. It could, he believed, have a unifying influence of the country, because drama was a tool through which the ideas of diverse groups of people such as town and farmfolk and various racial groups could be interpreted to each other. For this process, local and other Canadian drama was needed and Smith encouraged drama groups to try their hand at writing their own plays. Finally, a democracy required the ability of its citizens to articulate their ideas, and a drama program should cultivate that skill. Neither Thomson nor Smith made any mention of the artistic value of drama, or of offering expert assistance to those who were already somewhat skilled in drama. In fact, their goals for the Drama Division were indistinguishable from their objectives for Study Groups.

A Splitting of Ways

These separate agendas of Smith and Thomson and Russell and Sinclair were one of the major factors contributing to a shake up that occurred in the Drama Division in the summer of 1942, effectively putting an end to Sinclair and Russell's plans. The resultant correspondence with Smith sheds further light on the relationship between the Study Groups and Drama Divisions, the unity between Smith and Thomson and the suspicions that some had of Thomson's ideology and therefore of the Adult Education Office.

The catalyst for the incident was a decision made by Smith to change the physical arrangements of the Adult Education Office. Thomson had suggested that the whole program be brought under one roof from its scattered locations and Smith approved the plan. This meant moving the drama library from its location in the Junior Library to the film library. It also meant that Sinclair and Thomson would share an office and for Mrs. Sinclair this was unthinkable. The decision set off a series of angry letters.

In June Sinclair wrote to Russell and Smith, complaining about an article in the *Winnipeg Tribune* in which Thomson had "belittled the drama program."[21] She saw the article as being typical of Thomson's overall neglect of the two subsidiary programs. "Watson Thomson says he is responsible for the whole program," she wrote. "If so, he should put it on a smooth working basis." Furthermore, Sinclair complained that she lacked the money, staff and space for the program and on top of everything, overworked as she was, she was leaving shortly for Boston on a vacation with her husband! And, in conclusion, if Thomson wanted more small town, rural emphasis she was not the right person for the job. It was not what she had trained for.

Meanwhile, Russell wrote to Smith with a similar complaint about Thomson's lack of interest in the Drama and Arts and Crafts Divisions, and warned Smith that Sinclair would resign, leaving the program without a competent director. Smith responded in defense of Thomson, saying that the offending article had not been written by him. He had also spoken with Thomson about his neglect of the two divisions, and Thomson had admitted his lack of interest and agreed to work on this aspect of his leadership.[22]

Russell's efforts were to no avail, however, and in July Sinclair resigned. In a letter to Russell, she cited the physical rearrangement as the culminating factor, but she also mentioned herlong term dislike for Thomson's ideology. Her official reason for resigning was,

> [A]s a Canadian citizen I find myself entirely out of sympathy with Mr. Thomson's socialistic program for Western Canada, and since I realize that work in my subject cannot readily affiliate itself with his programme and progress, I regret that I cannot continue another year.[23]

As evidence of her point, Sinclair had done some research into Thomson's past with the help of Kaye Rowe, which she included in her letter of resignation. According to Sinclair, Thomson had opposed the government in England and then come to Canada "sighing for new worlds to conquer." In his work at the University of Alberta, Thomson and the president had not been "sympathetic." Then Thomson had made contact with Corbett, just when Smith needed someone for his program and the president had been "completely sold on Watson Thomson. She concluded:

> It is a pity that the President is so readily swayed, and would give no real thought to the matter. I fear that we, and not the A. E. Committeenor(sic) yet the University will have the country's sympathy. It seems a devastating mistake.[24]

These petulant remarks of an angry woman could simply be interpreted as such. This was what Smith chose to do, but in fact, the information Sinclair had uncovered, although highly biased, was all based on facts. This means that although Thomson had the full support of the president, his ideology regarding adult education was not above suspicion in all circles.

Russell's sympathy in the issue of Thomson's philosophy had clearly been with Sinclair all along. In a deprecating comment in a letter to his friend, Grant Wilkes, Russell revealed his feelings about Watson Thomson, and perhaps about the rest of the adult education program. He wrote: "... of course this remark is not official, but [Sinclair] would never be able to work under Thomson, and since he is sitting on the top of the adult education pile (addled education as a friend of mine has called it) I felt it was better not to press it."[25]

Smith's response, which was a typical one, was one of defense, trust and kindly concern for Thomson. He described his perception of what had happened in a letter to Russell.

> Before I left and on the day before Watson Thomson was married he came to me in great distress over a telephone message that he had with Mrs. Sinclair. He called her to see if he could meet her and discuss future plans with her. He did not get very far in talking with her before she began to scold him about change of office and library (which was my decision) about her not being invited to the meeting of the committee etc. Poor soul I felt sorry for him - He has promised me to seek a rapprochement with her. I had to tell him "not to worry - to be off on his honeymoon and trip without thinking about Mrs. Sinclair." After all you are the Director of Adult Education.[26]

Thomson was contrite and he did seek rapprochement as the following comments to Russell indicates:

> It always saddens me in a specially deep way when it happens that what might have been a constructive job is inhibited and nullified by some psychological factor in human material, and when its myself that is part of that recalcitrance I am humiliated.[27]

Although apologetic, Thomson's response was philosophical rather than practical, and immediately following the brief apology, he went into a lengthy enthusiastic description of the Northern Plains project with which his mind appears to have been fully occupied. It would semm that Sinclair was correct in her assessment that Thomson was not greatly interested in the Drama Division as she and Russell had implemented it.

In spite of this apparent weakness in the director of the Adult Education Office, Smith had no question about where to place his support in the matter, according to the following commentary to Russell:

> In my mind Watson Thomson is really not a hard person to get along with. Mrs. Sinclair's view about Watson Thomson's "socialistic programme" is really unwarranted. His programme has been approved by the Board of Governors, by the Carnegie Corporation through the renewed grant. The best endorsement of his performance has come from the Rockefeller Foundation. Two weeks ago he attended with George Ferguson of the Free Press a meeting in Lincoln Nebraska, called by the Rockefeller people. He outlined his performance and John Marshall & Marshall's chief, Mr. Stevens, wrote to us and asked it we could give to Watson Thomson a six-week leave-of-absence to visit American Directors of extension work in the Great Plains region & then with American Collaboration to be selected by him to prepare a study-outline similar to his "Democracy Begins at Home." The board of Governors, Carnegie & Rockefeller are not "red" organizations.[28]

These comments also seem to imply that Smith was not unfamiliar with the type of accusations that Sinclair had levelled at the program, but that he felt confident that he had "his bases adequately covered" in the matter. Certainly, from his association with Corbett, he must have been familiar with the suspicion that adult education occasionally came under during this period in its history.

Smith was hopeful about finding someone to replace Sinclair and wrote to Russell saying, "The project should go on - It is astonishing to find sometimes a new person or persons to take on and assume successfully old positions."[29] And so it was. A new secretary was found and the Drama Division carried on, although in a different form.

The Drama Division After Sinclair

In October, 1942, not long after Sinclair's resignation, the university received a grant of $6106 from the Rockefeller Foundation for a two-year drama program. It came in response to an application from Father d'Eschambault, director of the French Manitoba Association of Adult Education and specified a joint English-French drama program directed by the university. In keeping with the new mandate for the program, a young French Canadian drama student by the name of Rene Dussault was appointed to replace Sinclair. The Adult Education Committee decided to apply the former drama budget to the new film program that Thomson was pressing for, thereby lengthening the life of the Adult Education Office.

The new drama mandate and secretary brought several changes with it, but rather than distancing the Drama Division from Study Groups, they did just the opposite. All of the changes were to Thomson's liking. Moreover, although it is not clear what Dussault's opinion of Thomson's "socialist" agenda was, he appears to have co-operated well with the overall goals of the Adult Education Office for the duration of the program. There is no record of any dissent on his part.[30]

At the outset of the new phase of the Drama Division, Smith made it clear to Russell and to Sinclair's supporters among the drama groups that the drama program was to serve the inexperienced, not the experts. Not only was this part of the university's goal, it was also a necessity, since Dussault was much less qualified than Edith Sinclair and was not able to offer the expertise she had given. After a few discouraging encounters with such skilled leaders as Dunn and Wilkes, Dussault directed his attention at those whom he could serve best.

At the same time the program became more decentralized. "Consider the Play" had to be cancelled when Sinclair resigned, but its loss was not as great as it might have been had radio reception not been a constant problem. In its place Dussault organized a series of three-day drama schools across the province. The schools covered similar topics as the radio broadcasts had, but at a more basic level, and they often ended with a performance of the play that had been used in the study. Thomson approved of the change. In his first annual report after the new drama program was implemented, he referred to the schools as "one of the most popular and educationally stimulating features of the whole program."[31]

Not only did the program become decentralized, but it also expanded geographically and, of course, ethnically. Immediately upon the commencement of his assignment, Dussault made a survey of needs in the province and visited 33 communities. Many of the groups that were formed as a result were English speaking but names like Hazelridge, Ste. Anne, and Ste. Elizabeth now began to appear on Dussault's reports. These towns were east of the Red River, a part of the province that had been only scantily represented in any part of the program before. Dussault's 1944-45 annual report listed more southeastern, non English speaking towns like Pointe du Bois, Steinbach, Otterbourne, and La Broquerie, none of which had been reached before.

As these place names suggested, Dussault was implementing the bilingual mandate of the Rockefeller grant. English groups continued to dominate, but as early as September, 1942, Dussault reported on one bilingual group in Dunrea and a few weeks later he reported on visits - all with positive responses - to the French communities of McCreary, Laurier, Ste. Amelie, and Ste. Rose. On November 18, 1943, he produced the first issue of *SEP*, which was the French version of the *Prairie Call Boy*. In January, 1943, Dussault reported that he had conducted three French drama schools during the term and that 12 of the 41 drama groups were French speaking. A bilingual secretary was hired at this time to assist Dussault.

Father d'Eschambault, who had originally applied for the Rockefeller grant, was greatly pleased with Dussault's contribution to French drama as seen in the following excerpts from a report to John Marshall in 1944:

> This is the first time French speaking centres have had any constructive and followed-up policy in the field of Drama.
>
> ...

> The presence of Mr. Dussault is for our people the equivalent to a sort of assurance that things will be done properly and orderly if they address themselves to him.
>
> ...
>
> I may add that the arrangement suggested by yourself, as to the joint work among English and French-speaking centres, has worked out very harmoniously due to the spirit of understanding and fairness that animates the University authorities.[32]

Thomson had reported on the bilingual experiment with similar enthusiasm in 1943 saying,

> It is most encouraging to note how harmoniously this bi-lingual programme has worked out. Each element has benefitted from the experience of the other. The Director finds that such a joint programme, so far from impeding the development of the work in one language-group, has proven a definite impetus to it.[33]

Thomson's approval was consistent with his goal of narrowing gaps and developing understanding between diverse groups of people.

A new drama secretary, whose program met with Thomson's approval, also meant that the efforts of the Drama and Study Group Divisions could be coordinated. In December of Dussault's first year, the adult education staff agreed to have monthly joint staff meetings of all divisions. The same year Dussault participated in weekend conferences at Shoal Lake and Deloraine. He also co-operated with the Post-war Planning Committee by investigating the possibilities of establishing community centres which could be used for community dramas.

All of these changes pleased Thomson, for as he stated in his 1943 annual report:

> Apart from specific services rendered, it is felt that much of the value of this year's work in the Drama Division has consisted in the broadened and deepened acquaintance with the social conditions and cultural needs of rural Manitoba.[34]

In 1944 Thomson noted another indication that the drama program was becoming more socially oriented.

> Already five of our group members have written either full-length or one-act plays during the past season. This alone provides some

> justification for our efforts in the division of Drama over the past two years, and we have reason to believe that this is only a beginning. One of our main tasks now is to prepare for the post-war period of social fermentation which will undoubtedly create a rich new opportunity for the indigenous and amateur Theatre.[35]

These comments indicate that the study of drama in its own right, as Sinclair had defined it, held little value for Thomson. Now that it was being used as a tool for social change he endorsed it wholeheartedly.

A final achievement of the Drama Division was Dussault and Russell's involvement with the Western Canada Theatre Conference. This organization was established upon Russell and Dussault's suggestion in 1943 at the Banff School of Fine Arts to coordinate the various drama organizations of western Canada. In 1945 Dussault became secretary of the conference and its central office was consequently located in Winnipeg. Dussault cited the Conference as one of the achievements of the Drama Division, and his involvement in it also shows that the young drama student was maturing professionally.

Throughout this new phase, the number of participants in the Drama Division continued to increase. In 1943 total attendance at 10 drama schools was 370. In 1944 drama schools were conducted in 12 communities with a total attendance of 636. Twenty play reading and 34 production groups were reported in 1943, and by 1945 the total number for both groups was 62.

Conclusion

Under the leadership of Edith Sinclair and John Russell, the drama program had begun as one of the most carefully organized of the three divisions of the Adult Education Office. Its emphasis was on the academic and artistic aspect of drama and it offered professional expertise to rural drama enthusiasts. This agenda should have met with the approval of both the University of Manitoba and the Carnegie sponsors, although its approach was perhaps somewhat too centralized to meet both sponsors' goal of spreading adult education across the province. Sinclair and Russell's program was, however, entirely out of step with Thomson's overall agenda of the Adult

Education Office, and as a result it was unable to continue. With a new director, an independent budget and a bilingual focus, the Drama Division developed a program that stressed the artistic component of drama, while at the same time functioning harmoniously within the overall social goals of the Adult Education Office that Thomson was implementing. Smith's role in the transition demonstrated clearly the support that Thomson enjoyed under his presidency.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS DIVISION

Arts and Crafts, which was the third division of the Adult Education Office, was less fortunate. When Milton Osborne proposed that drama and arts and crafts be separated, he had made a suggestion that would leave the latter without two empowering ingredients, a director and a budget. Osborne himself chaired the Arts and Crafts subcommittee and also directed the program on a voluntary basis. It operated with a minimal amount of money and after two and a half years it was discontinued. This third division has a place in this study, not for what it achieved, which was minimal, but as another example of the influence that Thomson was able to exert on the program, which in this case impeded the potential that it might have had.

Like Drama, handicrafts was considered a legitimate form of adult education. The Department of Education had come to recognize drama and handicrafts as appropriate school subjects during the thirties in a movement to make schools more relevant to rural life.[36] A summer school for teachers, where Osborne was an instructor, was held each year at Singoosh Lake to help them incorporate drama and handicrafts into their classes. The French MAAE had an active and successful weaving program in Manitoba, and Macdonald College of Adult Education had a Crafts Department. The CAAE also included handicrafts in its definition of adult education and Corbett himself was president of the Handicraft Guild of Canada, which promoted, exhibited and sold handicrafts.

An article in the March, 1943 issue of the CAAE journal, *Food for*

Thought,[37] outlined three potential social functions of handicrafts in the post-war world. The large number of returning soldiers and a post-war influx of immigrants would mean many new homes in Canada, and skills in art and handicrafts would enable these newcomers to decorate their homes at a low cost. Crafts programs would also serve as therapy for wounded soldiers, and thirdly, they would help "keep the settlers ... immune to the temptation to drift into the town or city."[38] This had been demonstrated, according to the article, by the Ontario Home Makers Clubs which had organized handicrafts programs that had "become a real factor in stopping the exodus from the farm to the city."[39] This was also what Watson Thomson and the sponsors were hoping to achieve through the Adult Education Office. That potential for creating social change could be found in such a wide range of activities as drama, arts and crafts and study groups, all under the umbrella of adult education, was indicative of a movement in a period of social unrest.

For Osborne the purpose of the Arts and Crafts Division was two-fold: education for art appreciation and social change or community development. The program he implemented included some of both, although the latter received the greater emphasis. Like the CAAE article, Osborne saw a potential for a brighter post-war world in a knowledge of arts and crafts. Men and women would use such skills to create brighter and more beautiful homes at a low affordable cost and returning soldiers, who would be needing mental relief to counteract the depression of their wartime experiences, would find therapy in handicrafts programs.[40] Osborne also suggested a potential for the enhancement of democracy and national unity in the development and sharing of native handicrafts among various ethnic and racial groups. It appears that on paper at least, Osborne's goals were in line with those of the overall program, although his interpretation of social adult education was by no means radical.

Osborne conducted the Arts and Crafts section of the short course in 1940, together with his wife, and Grace Ronnington and Mrs. E.C. Martin from the Department of Home Economics. Of the eight students who attended, five established groups, with a total membership of 90. This means that at its beginning the Arts and

Crafts Division was about as successful as Drama, and the percentage of short course participants who established craft groups (about 60%) was substantially higher than study groups. Unfortunately these groups did not have a Watson Thomson or Edith Sinclair to follow up on a good beginning.

Osborne had presented twelve possible craft projects at the short course, and he mimeographed instructional materials to be sent to groups upon request. The only other guidance that the groups received was from a few faculty visits, and through a series of radio broadcasts given by Mrs. Martin. The latter were not part of the Adult Education Office. This meant that the program was dependent on the availability of local leaders who were already skilled in crafts. A second problem was the cost of materials, and Osborne suggested that the university provide the start up materials and then make contact with the Canadian Handicraft Guild to provide a market for the crafts so as to recover the cost. Nothing came of the suggestion.

In the summer of 1941 Osborne did, however, find a way to resolve the leadership problem. He recruited a group of teachers at the Singoosh Summer School who were willing to establish craft groups for adults in their respective school districts. Nineteen groups resulted. Community leadership was a role that the Department of Education was encouraging at this time for the rural teacher,[41] and Osborne reported that the teachers' participation resulted in better home and school relations. Individuals who recall life in those days also emphasized the importance of community minded teachers to a healthy community life.[42] One disadvantage that Osborne cited of using teachers was that when they moved to a new district, their craft groups usually folded. At the end of the year, however, 13 groups were still functional and 250 people had participated.

The lack of supervision made Handicrafts a more indigenous and independent division than Drama or Study Groups, and the types of groups formed and the activities they engaged in were quite diverse. In Brandon, the Business and Professional Women's Club rebound salvaged books for the school board and the local air force base. In Strathclair, Miss Richie, a local teacher, gave instruction in art appreciation and picture study to high school students. The group in Pierson met with Miss LaBaron, another teacher who had often taught crafts in the past, to make a braided rug, using a large bag of cord that one of the members had in her possession. Other craft projects were wood finishing, wood carving, flour sack table cloths, wool work, linoleum printing, slippers made with cork and string, chip-carving, glove making and many more. One of the most popular and useful crafts was stencil making for decoration of a variety of surfaces like fabric, wooden bowls and walls. Most of the groups also took advantage of a series of good quality prints that the university provided to be used for picture study and lectures on art appreciation. The latter added an academic component to the program.

Only two communities reported any real success in the crafts program, but they give some indication of the potential that the Arts and Crafts Division had for the goals of the Adult Education Office. In Carman several successful crafts groups already existed prior to the short course, and these simply incorporated the assistance they received from the university into their program. A learning project which they undertook was most appropriate to a program of social adult education. This was a course in Home Furnishings in which the group completely remodelled a school classroom for a total of $3.60. The leaders reported that the course had been very well received and was of equal interest to town and farm folk. At the annual achievement night of the Carman crafts groups, Osborne was greatly impressed both by the variety and quality of the work he saw and he observed, "There is a kind of leadership in Carman that might well make it a craft centre for the entire community."[43]

The second successful community was Roblin and here, too, a craft program had been in place before the short course. The groups in this town staged a huge show of mixed ethnic crafts from the area. The variety of projects was great and showed the emphasis that had been placed on the use of local materials such as lumber, wool, leather and clay. Both the ethnic mix and the indigenous emphasis were to Thomson's liking. Osborne was impressed as well, and the successes in both Carman and Roblin inspired him with the possibilities of initiating similar projects in other locations. He had, however, recognized from the beginning that the minimum amount of support available to the Arts and Crafts Division was inadequate to achieve any of his ideals.[44]

In September, 1942, the minutes of the Adult Education Committee recorded a decision to close the Arts and Crafts Division because of the shortage of funds to run it properly. Nevertheless, in January, 1943, Corrine Daly was hired as a part-time crafts secretary. She reported a renewed interest in craft groups, but by March only eight groups were active. In April of the following year, Mrs. Martin submitted a proposal to the committee for $874.32 to set up weaving schools, but nothing seems to have come of her suggestion. In June, 1943, Thomson met with Corrine Daly to discuss closing the crafts department. The university sold the crafts equipment to her and the program was closed.

The question that arises from this description of the Arts and Crafts Division is why it suffered such serious neglect. While it is true that study groups were meant to be the focal point of the program, crafts had at least as much potential for adult education as did drama. The ethnic mix that was fostered through the craft program in Roblin and the harmony between farmers and townspeople in Carman were social achievements which were rarely matched even in the study groups. The involvement of the Singoosh teachers also had a potential for social adult education that should have pleased Thomson. In the November, 1941, issue of the *Manitoba School Journal* Thomson appealed to rural teachers to get involved in their communities through the study groups, and explained how the experience would have social results:

> They will meet in the equality of their democratic citizenship and in their neighbourliness, dropping their professional status which is good for their soul, and for the quality of relationship he will establish with his non professional neighbour.[45]

Osborne's contact with rural teachers at Singoosh would seem to have been an ideal opportunity to foster just such a relationship.

The crafts program had another potential advantage that was not mentioned by Osborne, but seems significant. Arts and Crafts was the only division of the Adult Education Office that was not "something of the outside." Whereas Thomson commented frequently on the lack of ownership that study groups were taking of the program, and Edith Sinclair regarded much of the local drama as trash, Osborne observed, encouraged and offered assistance. The loosely-structured format of his division allowed the groups to develop in a manner most appropriate to their own needs. This "basis in the community" was exactly what the proposal of 1936 had cited as an ideal for rural adult education.

In the face of its apparent potential, the tight financial constraints of the Adult Education Office seems the most likely cause for the neglect of the Arts and Crafts Division. It does not explain the disproportionate amount of neglect, however. It is possible that handicrafts was not considered appropriate to a university setting, but the president seems to have encouraged it. He suggested more than once that Thomson look into various ideas for the Crafts Division, such as the program at the University of Alberta and the successful weaving program offered by the French MAAE. The participation of Martin, Ronnington and Daly, all from the Home Economics Department - which had been established during Smith's presidency - and the emphasis on art appreciation and good quality crafts also lent a component of liberal education to the program. And as indicated earlier, handicrafts was encouraged by Corbett and the CAAE.

There remains one other possibility for the neglect: Watson Thomson himself. In his concentration on study groups, he appears to have missed the potential of the Arts and Crafts Division for the very type of education he was fostering. He openly admitted his lack of interest in the two subsidiary divisions after the flare-up with Edith Sinclair, and his progress reports confirm the same. About the program in Pierson, for example, he wrote rather disparagingly that Miss LaBaron had showed him the craft work, which was nothing original, but that the group had enjoyed themselves.[46] He did mention that the groups in Roblin showed citizenship potential, but by and large he took little notice of crafts groups.

It appears that while in theory Thomson believed crafts to be a valid form of adult education, in practice he was unaware of its potential for the kind of community development and social change that could not always be accomplished through study groups. The fact that Thomson placed so much emphasis on discussion may well have been a factor in his attitude. While handicrafts programs provide and ideal setting for informal communication, as had been demonstrated in Carman and Roblin, they do not lend themselves to the formal exchange of ideas of which Thomson was an ardent proponent.

Without the support of either a vocal leader like Edith Sinclair or the interest of the director, the crafts program could not last. This makes the implementation of the Arts and Crafts Division a second example of Thomson's influence in the shaping of the Adult Education Office.

THE ADULT EDUCATION OFFICE CLOSES

While the Arts and Crafts Division illustrated how helpless a program without the enthusiasm of Watson Thomson behind it could be, Edith Sinclair and John Russell demonstrated the possibility of implementing a program, at least temporarily, that ran quite contrary to the director's wishes. The Drama Division also demonstrated Thomson's authority to bring the program into line with his own goals, with the support of Smith. In the Study Groups Division the definition of adult education held by Thomson and Rands did not always agreed with that of the university or its funder, the Carnegie Corporation, but the program directors had managed to implement a program of adult education very much after their own philosophy, within the framework set by the sponsors.

By April, 1945, the dynamic role of the implementors changed. President Smith and the Adult Education Committee had managed to supplement the three-year grant from the Carnegie Corporation by incorporating staff and finances from the Citizens' Forum, NFB, and the Northern Plains project, and with several smaller grants from the Rockefeller Foundation for the Drama Division. But the time came when no more money was forthcoming. It was now apparent that the essence of sponsorship meant the willingness to provide further funding for the Adult Education Office, and over this the implementors had little control.

Smith, Corbett, and Thomson had been aware all along of the need to place the program on a permanent funding basis. As early as November, 1942, Thomson mentioned that the Rockefeller grant would help tide the program over until it could begin to levy some form of tuition fees.[47] Corbett's method of establishing programs on the faith that permanent funding would become available along the way and Smith's personal goal of establishing an Extension Department were described earlier. Just prior to leaving for Toronto, Smith made one last effort to procure further funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. Although he projected in his proposal that the drama program could be financially independent in two more years, John Marshall responded with a small, non renewable grant of $2000. Thomson expressed bitter disappointment over the outcome, saying that he did not mind a shoestring budget for the present, but he had been hoping for some assurance of a full scale program after the war ended.[48]

In October, 1944, after both Thomson and Smith had left, Stan Rands, President Armes and two board members met with Corbett to discuss the future of adult education. In December, 1944, a committee from the university met with the Minister of Education about funding for adult education. Armes reported to the board that the Minister would personally recommend a budget increase for the university, but that the "policy of the Government with respect to Adult Education had not been determined."[49] Ironically, in 1945 the Carnegie Corporation, which had been the key sponsor in terms of finances, was no longer in the picture. The experimental phase of the field of adult education had been deemed to be over by 1941, and after this the Carnegie Corporation had discontinued all grants for adult education per se, although it still funded some community projects. In 1944, when Corbett returned from a teaching trip to Great Britain, he was shocked to learn that the Carnegie Corporation had discontinued its grants to the CAAE. The move did not come as a surprise, though, because the CAAE had already received grants for eight years and Corbett realized that the corporation usually funded projects for only three or four.[50] With the end of the war in sight, it is also possible that friendship with Canada may not have been of the same consequence. For the Adult Education Office this meant that the significant influence that Corbett had been able to exert on its funder was now of no account.

At this point, the University of Manitoba, now represented by the board and an interim president, was the sole sponsor of the Adult Education Office. The board and president made their decision about further funding at a board meeting on February 2, 1945.

> [Armes] informed the Board that the money which was made available by the Carnegie Corporation of New York would be exhausted at the end of the current fiscal year on April 30, and recommended that the work which [was] now carried on in that field be suspended for the present."[51]

A motion to that effect followed and was carried unanimously.

Several study groups wrote letters of protest, and the MLA from Gilbert Plains sent a letter of protest to the board of governors on behalf of the study groups . The board responded with a lengthy discussion of the question of adult education, but concluded that no further action need be taken at this time.[52]

The official reasons given by the board for the suspension were lack of finances and insufficient numbers of participants. The former was certainly a legitimate concern in light of the noncommittal stance of the Department of Education regarding adult education. The Evening Institute, which had the support of the board, was totally self supporting. Rands objected to the second reason, however, pointing out that over 100 communities had been reached, over 6000 meetings of film with discussion had been held, drama groups had been organized in 75 communities and the library had touched 300,000 lives.

Welton has concluded that

> The real reason [for suspending the program], hidden from the public, was that the adult education program under Watson Thomson and Stan Rands' direction was deemed 'too political and propagandist' by certain board members."[53]

It is true that Thomson's agenda for the Adult Education Office was clearly a socialist one, and his reputation had not always been above reproach. Edith Sinclair had expressed her biases against Thomson in the summer of 1942, and a few months later

Smith had received a second reprimand of greater consequence. This was a stern letter from the Lieutenant-Governor about, what he considered, a highly unpatriotic radio talk that Thomson had given. The Governor warned that if the reports that he had read about Thomson were correct, then "the sooner he is removed from [his] position the better it will be for the University."[54] This was wartime and one had to be cautious, but a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor's office was surely not a light matter.

Thomson had also come under the suspicion of the president of the University of Alberta earlier because of his association with the WEA and its militant director, Drummond Wren. At the same time, Thomson did not agree with Wren's belief in the inevitability of class struggle and, in fact, found it difficult to work with the organization as a result. Neither was Thomson a communist. Although he agreed with many tenets of the ideology, he never adopted it as his own, finding its call to obedience at the expense of free and creative participation to be distasteful to his own interpretation of socialism.[55]

In March, 1945, Stan Rands submitted a report to the president, indicating that the board's attitude toward the program was of some concern to him. In the face of the criticism of certain board members that the program was politically biased, Rands argued:

> ... all ... aspects of the program would reveal that the work being done is genuinely educational in nature and that no partiality is shown to any political viewpoint. I would particularly urge that first hand impressions be obtained from those members of the faculty who have participated in the community conferences or who have been closely associated with other aspects of our work. These include Professor W.J.Waines, W.L.Morton, John Russell, Dr. Saunderson and Eric Thrift. I would be happy to discuss with the board of governors the criticisms which have been made of the program and the very strong reason for its continuance under the University auspices.[56]

The involvement of various faculty members that Smith had so carefully seen to, was now used to defend the educational, unbiased nature of the project. They had, after all, been appointed by the board.

These various concerns are strong evidence that the leftist bias of the Adult

Education Office was considered by the board to be inappropriate for university sponsorship. On the other hand, Welton's brief concluding statement for the reason of the program's suspension is too simplistic in light of extenuating circumstances. Certainly the University of Manitoba was self-consciously a "non political," "unbiased" public institution, but had finances been more readily available and had the Department of Education shown more interest in supporting adult education, the criticisms of certain board members would surely not have carried the same weight. More important, though, was the question of leadership. The Adult Education Office was a project of President Smith's, albeit with the assistance of the faculty, and his resignation left the program in the hands of an inexperienced acting president at a time when finances were least secure. Surely Smith's resignation was at least as important in the decision to suspend the program as was the nature of the program itself.

In the fall of 1945 the new president, Albert Truman, announced an Interim Program of Adult Education to be funded by a small grant from the Department of Education. The drama program would remain intact; the university would continue as the headquarters of the Citizens' Forum, although other supervision for it had been found; study group guides would be available to groups but without supervision and Rene Dussault would be the new director. The NFB took over the film library until further arrangements could be made. The program implementors, Thomson and Rands, had developed a program much as they saw fit in spite of differences with the sponsors, but the permanence of the program through continued funding was firmly in the hands of the sponsors.

At this time the Department of Education appointed a Royal Commission on Adult Education to research the question of adult education in Manitoba as its official response to requests for permanent funding. As the Minister argued, the project had been an experimental one and hence, it now needed to be evaluated before further grants could be made. This concludes the story of the the Adult Education Office from the perspective of the administrators, both sponsors and implementors. There was also a third aspect of the program in which the influence of sponsorship on the shaping of the program was felt. This was at the community level where the program took on its ultimate shape. The men and women who took part in the program, and the rural communities they lived in, are the subjects of the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 4

1. UMA, UN29, 10-1, University Extension Programmes and Budgets, 1936.

2. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight. pp. 88-94.

3. IBID, p. 87.

4. Interviews, Irene Hill, 27 January 1990 and Ruth Whitlaw, 27 January 1990.

5. UMA, UN20, 24-6, John Russell to Smith, 27 May 1940.

6. UMA, UN20, 22-2, Russell to Smith, 16 January 1941.

7. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Edith Sinclair to Smith, 08 April 1941.

8. IBID.

9. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Russell to Smith, 05 January 1941.

10. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Grant Wilkes to Russell, 12 March and 29 April 1942.

11. Interview, Harry and Eve Dunn, 24 January 1990.

12. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Sinclair to Smith, 31 March 1942.

13. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Edith Sinclair, Minutes of the Drama Conference, 29 May 1942.

14. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Sinclair to Smith, 31 March 1942.

15. UMA, UN20, 22-2, Russell to Smith, 23 April 1941.

16. UMA, UN20, 10-2, John Russell and Edith Sinclair, Report of the Drama Division, 1941-1942.

17. UMA, UN20, 36- 3, Watson Thomson, "Whom Do We Serve?" in Prairie Call Boy. Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1942.

18. IBID.

19. UMA, UN20, 36-3, Sidney Smith, "Drama and the University," in Prairie Call Boy. Vol. 1, No. 3, May 1942.

20. IBID, p. 1.

21. UMA, UN20, 10-2, Sinclair to Smith and Russell, 07 June 1942.

22. UMA, UN20, 10-2, Smith to Russell, 24 June 1942.

23. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Sinclair to Russell, 09 July 1942.

24. IBID.

25. UMA, UN20, 22-10, Russell to Wilkes, 23 September 1942.

26. UMA, UN20, 22-10, Smith to Russell, 20 July 1942.

27. UMA, UN20, 22-10, Thomson to Russell, 04 August 1942.

28. UMA, UN20, 22-10, Smith to Russell, 20 July 1942.

29. IBID.

30. Edith Sinclair claimed that Dussault was jubilant about an attack by Ottawa on a controversial radio talk given by Thomson. See UMA, UN20, 22-10, Sinclair to Russell, 26 February 1943.

31. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Watson Thomson, Interim Report on the Adult Education Office, 31 May 1943.

32. UMA, UN20, 61-6, Father d'Eschambault to Marshall, 20 April 1944.

33. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Watson Thomson, Report for the Year, 1942-1943.

34. IBID.

35. UMA, UN20, 61-2, Watson Thomson, Report for the Year, 1943-1944.

36. Annual Reports, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1934-1949.

37. Murray J. Gibbon, "Handicrafts in Post-War Canada," in Food For Thought. Vol. 3, No. 7, March, 1943.

38. IBID, p. 13.

39. IBID.

40. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Milton Osborne, Report of the Arts and Crafts Division, 1941-1942.

41. Annual Reports, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1934-1949.

42. Interview, Irene Gamey, 25 January 1990 and Jack Mitchell, 10 August, 1991.

43. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Milton Osborne, Report of the Arts and Crafts Division, 1941-1942.

44. IBID.

45. UMA, UN20, 7-15, Newspaper clipping in Scrapbook.

46. UMA, UN20, 22-3, Thomson to Smith, 24 May 1941.

47. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Minutes, Adult Education Committee, 11 November 1942.

48. UMA, UN20, 61-6, Thomson to Smith, 25 June 1944.

49. UMA, Minutes, U of M Board of Governors, October 1944, p. 798.

50. E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight, p. 57.

51. UMA, Minutes, U of M Board of Governors, 02 February 1945, p. 806.

52. IBID, 03 March 1945, p. 808.

53. M.R. Welton, "To Be and Build a Glorious World," p. 377.

54. UMA, UN20, 36-3, Lieutenant Governor to Smith, 11 November 1942.

55. IBID, p. 52.

56. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Rands to Armes, 07 March 1945.

CHAPTER 5

THE PARTICIPANTS

Between 1940 and 1945 large numbers of rural Manitobans participated in a program of handicrafts, drama and study groups, brought to them by the University of Manitoba. The program that had been developed under the combined influence of the Carnegie Corporation, the university, the CAAE, and program directors Watson Thomson and Stan Rands was one of social adult education, but academically appropriate to a university. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the impact of sponsorship once more, this time from the perspective of the counter-influence that the participants and their environment had on shaping the program. This is done by examining the program, first through an overview of rural communities that were contacted, and then by an indepth look at the experiences of participants in six communities. The latter is based largely on interviews conducted by the researcher.

AN OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITIES AND PROGRAM RESULTS

The sponsors of the Adult Education Office had a variety of reasons for placing their support behind the project, but all shared the common goal of spreading adult education across the province. And for Thomson and Rands the very definition of adult education meant delivering their program to communities across the province as quickly as possible, in order to begin the process of creating a new co-operative society from the grass roots up.

In keeping with this common goal, study, drama and handicrafts groups were established across the entire province in all types of locations. Considering that rural Manitoba was still suffering from the aftermath of the Depression, that the countryside was isolated and sparsely populated - often connected to larger centres only by roads that were frequently impassible and that the staff who made the contacts never numbered more than three at one time, the number of communities reached is outstanding. The achievement becomes even more impressive when the extensive distribution of the groups across the province is considered.

As part of his comprehensive visitation program, Watson Thomson documented his visits in regular reports to the president. Although coloured by his personal goals, these reports reflected Thomson's honesty and astuteness in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the groups he observed, as well as his gift for capturing - in words - the essence of a situation. Smith observed in a letter to Mary Speechly that, "Thomson's estimates of local situations are realistic and they are not rosy. Yet, on the other hand, they do convey a definite note of promise."[1] Speechly, in turn, verified Thomson's observations of local situations for those communities of which she had first hand knowledge from her country days. Several individuals who were interviewed about the program further confirmed the accuracy with which Thomson assessed the character of their communities. For these reasons, Thomson's reports provide valid and pertinent information about the interaction of local conditions and people with the program that he was responsible for implementing and are used as the basis for the following overview. The railway lines, along which Thomson travelled regularly, provide a structural framework for the survey in tracing the communities involved.

The majority of adult education groups were located in the populated southwest and southcentral farming regions, west of Winnipeg and south of Riding Mountain National Park. One of the first, and also most successful, contacts was Carman. Its crafts program has already been described and its study groups were equally successful. These groups had been organized previously by the MFA, and they simply incorporated the assistance offered by the university. At the end of the first term, Thomson reported that Mrs. Margaret Burnett had seen the study groups off to a businesslike start and they had completed the course early. He attributed the quality of the discussion, in spite of the mixture of town and country folk - some with strong views - to the content of the course.[2] On a less successful note, at the closing dinner "the six ladies in the study group sat solidly together opposite the men contributing very little,"[3] much as they had done when on Professor Clokie's first visit.

South of Carman, near the American border, the Mennonite town of Altona sent two representatives from the well-known Manitoba Federation of Co-operatives to the short course in 1940. No group resulted, but contact was again made through the rural film circuits. In May, 1942, Rands reported a group of 175 people - smaller than usual because of heavy rains - at a film night.[4] He was surprised to find that an almost exclusively Mennonite audience should be so appreciative of war films and the discussion that followed was one of the richest that he had heard in its constructive proposals and sense of community responsibility. Rands regretted, though, that the discussion remained entirely focused on the needs of the community, without any recognition that post-war concerns also raised national and world wide issues. In November, 1942, Thomson met with members of the federation to show them how to incorporate university materials into their own study groups. It appears that, although members of this organization availed themselves of the university's services, they did not embrace Thomson's definition of citizenship education, because they already had their own philosophy of co-operative education.

Moving west, Pilot Mound was located on the southern CPR line running parallel to the border. It was one of the early successes of the Adult Education Office, and Thomson described it as the most active and socially minded community in the province. The Home and School Association, which was the type of unbiased hosting body that Thomson approved of, had transformed itself into three study groups, all of which had done very well. Unfortunately, but typical of these early successes in community-minded Anglo Saxon towns, the groups were quickly depleted by the war and the Home and School Association was disbanded the following year.

South of Pilot Mound, the Anglican minister in Snowflake reported in 1943 that residents of this community showed an interest beyond his expectations in the university study materials which provided a form of entertainment during the winter months when the community was snowbound.

Moving west to Cartwright, Alex Parkes, a bachelor farmer, had been conducting a CCF group of three years. After his suspicion that the Adult Education Office was a scheme for war propaganda had been allayed, he decided to use the university study guides with his group. Cartwright was also one of Edith Sinclair's drama successes and the drama group continued to co-operate with Dussault after she resigned.

Killarney was the first of three major centres on this rail line. It was surely one of the most successful of all communities. The original group, which consisted of the most formally educated community leaders who had "keen minds and good discussion ability,"[5] was organized in 1941 and continued to meet till the program closed. Rands appreciated these same keen minds while planning the conference of 1942,[6] and Smith himself was impressed with the ideas about post-war reconstruction that the group's leader expressed in a letter to the president.[7] In 1943 four groups were reported to be discussing ways of breaking down the barriers in their community that they now realized were caused by a bad tradition of "cliqueyness."[8] That the groups were inclined toward the political left was evidenced by the fact that in 1944 several of the leaders resigned out of "a quite genuine concern for the best interests of the ... study-group by removing the stigma of 'radicalism' and by giving a better chance to the younger members." The move "achieved the latter objective more effectively than the former!"[9] The group members were also in agreement with Thomson's view that serious study must complement practical community projects. Finally, the conference of 1945 was judged very successful because of the groundwork that had been laid by the study groups.

The study group in Boissevain, the second major town in the region and a centre of MFA activities, was less successful. Dussault found the town be over organized, and without room for the drama program which he attempted to organize there.[10] Deloraine was the third major centre. It was a community-minded conservative place with a successful study group and weekend conference, similar to that of Killarney, but without the "radical" element.

In the far southwest corner of Manitoba, the hamlet of Pierson might well have disappeared after the severity of the Depression took its toll. Instead it achieved what the program sponsors had hoped for; it grew and was revitalized after the war.[11] In 1941 Thomson assessed the CCF group, which had turned into a university study group as above average in its citizenship potentialities and Speechly confirmed that Pierson was a town with potential.[12] In the 1942-43 term, Dussault listed Pierson as having a play reading and a play production group, and it was also one of the few communities that carried on a successful arts and crafts program. It would be presumptuous to attribute the rejuvenation of Pierson to the work of the Adult Education Office, but the program did enhance rural life and provided a medium through which community-minded citizens could discuss their future.

Gladstone was situated northwest of Winnipeg on the most northerly CPR line in southwestern Manitoba. Here the study group showed progress over a four-year period in terms of community involvement, attitude changes and discussion ability. In April, 1943, Thomson hoped to shake the group out of its male, small-town, political rut. The following year he still found the groups to be somewhat exclusive and too inexperienced to hold a successful panel discussion at the conference. By 1945, however, Jack Sword reported a well balanced program in Gladstone. The group had acquired superior discussion skills as a result of several years of participating in the Citizens' Forum program. Each member took a turn at the chair, the more reticent members were now participating, and both farm and town people were involved. The group had also done a great deal of community work in conjunction with the radio broadcasts.[13]

Moving west to Neepawa where Edith Sinclair had assisted a talented local drama group, Rene Dussault also reported a successful drama school in January, 1943. The study group was another matter, however. Thomson, in 1941, encountered anti-farmer feelings and small town snobbery in the somewhat self satisfied group. He found the members lacking in social awareness and apparently not in need of help from the university.[14] The following year Thomson met with the discouraged agricultural representative whom he considered "one of the few open minded men in the town."[15] At the same time Dussault reported another successful drama school for a group of adults and high school students. In the final report on the troublesome study group, Rands related the local minister's conclusion that the group was still introspective and exclusive and that there was little prospect that it would become useful to the community.[16] Apparently drama and citizenship were two separate situations in Neepawa.

Continuing west, the group in Strathclair presented a thorny problem that was related to the MFA. In 1943 Thomson reported that monetary reformers were destroying discussion and the following year he dealt again with the problem. This time he reported that the townspeople complained that the MFA type of education was creating "anti-town, anti-capitalist, anti-everything-but-farmer-economics" among the farmers.[17] Jack Sword had the same experience in 1945, and he was concerned that these individuals were creating distrust of the study group.[18] Neither Thomson nor Sword acknowledged the consumer co-operative or the credit union that had resulted from the same MFA monetary vision.[19]

The town of Shoal Lake exemplified the amount of sustained effort that the directors were willing to exercise in implementing the program. On his first visit Thomson discovered 700 to 800 unassimilated Ukrainians, whom he viewed as a challenge for citizenship education, on the outskirts of this town. On a subsequent visit he observed that a study group had not yet materialized. By January, 1943, several groups reported at the community conference, but attendance at this event was poor. By fall the recently formed groups were already depleted by the war and Thomson again attempted to establish new ones. Rands concluded this long-term effort with a discouraging report in 1945: the group still did not have an appreciation for the democratic process and did not see how they could incorporate the less academic community members into their group.[20]

Two urban centres in this region also had programs. The city of Brandon had a group composed of educated young women from the University Women's Club. To the surprise of the directors, they selected the farmer-oriented "Northern Plains" as their study guide. As a direct result of the study, these women began to question the imported education and cultural forms that westerners had come to passively accept, and to look for ways of expressing the uniqueness of their own prairie culture.[21]

The small city of Portage la Prairie exemplified a most promising program that was cut short when the Adult Education Office closed. The first activity was reported here in 1944, when Reverend Henderson established eight study groups in his Presbyterian Church. The local paper reported that the adult students of Portage would have much to offer the city in the way of leaders, public speakers and thinkers alert to the changing order of the world as a result of the study groups.[22] Thomson observed that the church in Portage had been good for the university. At the same time the church was benefiting from the study group program, because the members were learning to integrate Christian principles with citizenship.[23] Stan Rands followed up on this spectacular beginning with talk of organizing a Home and School Association and a weekend conference to keep the groups from becoming too exclusively Presbyterian. Unfortunately Portage had come into the program too late for these ideas to be implemented.

Numerous groups were also established in the parkland region west of Winnipeg and north of Riding Mountain National Park. The hamlet of Ochre River was located on the CNR line that connected the farming communities north of the park. It was one of the few communities that Thomson assessed as a dismal failure even by his encouraging standards. In October, 1942, a group of potential leaders were hopeful of starting a group, although they realized that they would have to tread carefully. By April it was apparent that their plans had failed. Thomson found the morale of the group at an all-time low because of the inertia and lack of civic irresponsibility they had encountered. His assessment at this time was that the whole district was "marginal, discouraged and below average in the intellectual calibre of its citizens," although the interested few did remember a time when Ochre River was alive from a citizenship point of view.[24] After a vigorous dose of scolding, coaxing and cheering up, Thomson managed to leave the group - and himself - in somewhat better spirits and willing to try again. However, no reports of any activity in Ochre River followed.

Further north and west, the program in Gilbert Plains was as successful as it had been futile in Ochre River. After an initial, unfriendly contact with Mrs. Edge, who felt that the university might be interfering with the program of the Department of Agriculture, Thomson reported in 1943 that Gilbert Plains was one of the liveliest towns he had visited in a long time. He attributed the positive progress that he observed here to the Parent Teacher Association that hosted the study groups.[25] In a community conference, the good work of the study groups was again evident and it was Thomson's opinion that this town was more nearly ready for a community adult education council than any other. As was the case in Portage, the Adult Education Office closed before his predictions could be realized.

The most northerly contact in the parkland region was Winnipegosis, which was too remote for a personal visit. Correspondence with the group leader, however, indicated a measure of success. The group in this hamlet was part of the Youth Training Centre, and was using the university study guides. The instructor judged the course to have created an interest in current events and concluded that discussion was an ideal method for teaching citizenship. She judged that the experiment had been worthwhile.[26]

The Adult Education Office was slower in reaching the towns in southeastern Manitoba and no major successes were reported. A trend toward continuously greater contact was evident though, and the film circuits were active in the region. A study group in Cook's Creek near Winnipeg consisted of 22 Poles and Ukrainians who had done a great deal of supplementary reading and of whom Thomson said, "Socially and politically this appeared a most valuable group."[27] In the farming community of Beausejour east of Winnipeg, Stan Rands met with a Polish school principal, a Jewish lawyer, a Ukrainian school teacher, an English barber and a Mennonite school inspector to plan a panel discussion for a film forum. In spite of the program's goal of mixing ethnic groups, Rands found this group too diverse and inexperienced to succeed in the experiment.[28]

Piney was the most southeasterly community contacted. Here Thomson met with a study group of fourteen members, including the station master, the postmaster, the customs officer, an RCMP officer and "two delightful Icelandic oldtimers."[29] By 1944 Piney also had a drama group. Considering that Piney had a total population of only 100 people, this response was seen as a success. The French community of Lettelier was contacted in 1941, and in the following term Thomson reported that the study group had worked through a political conflict. They now realized that the zealous CCF supporters must be modest in expressing their cause and neighbourly goodwill must prevail over causes. Thomson attributed this change of attitude to the study group.[30] Other French Canadian towns were first contacted after the drama program became bilingual in 1943.

The interlake region north of Winnipeg was another area that was largely untouched, although a few groups were organized. In 1944 Thomson paid his first visit to Stony Mountain, a town that was overshadowed by a huge federal penitentiary. Thomson found the atmosphere here to be oppressive, but he left with plans for a Child Psychology course underway, and he concluded that "in spite of the unusual difficulties and the low morale a good beginning was made towards the cultural enlivening of this small town."[31] In 1943 the indefatigable Watson Thomson managed to take the university program to three communities in northern Manitoba. On December 12, 1943, the local newspaper in The Pas reported that Watson Thomson had made history as the first university professor to visit the north and quoted him as saying that it was the right of northern taxpayers to have access to the services of the University of Manitoba.[32] Thomson, however, reported a cool reception in the Pas, because of the recent failure of Harry Avison's experiment in community development. The other two towns of Sherridan and Flin Flon welcomed him warmly and he organized study groups in both places.

This completes the overview of programs as they were implemented at the local level. The successes and failures reported in this range of study groups reflect both the local conditions in which they existed, as well as the perspective from which Thomson evaluated them. They can also be related to the goals of the sponsors. Several program objectives were clearly achieved. In keeping with the immediate goal of both sponsors and implementors, adult education and the University of Manitoba were introduced to Manitobans from Piney to Pierson to Winnipegosis to Stony Mountain to The Pas. The Adult Education Office also reached various ethnic groups in such places as Cook's Creek, Lettelier and Altona. In keeping with Thomson's agenda and the social goals of Smith and Corbett, a greater awareness of citizenship responsibilities had been fostered as well. Killarney was the best case in point and Lettelier, Brandon and others showed promise. The success in Gladstone also demonstrated the balanced type of citizenship education that the Carnegie Corporation and the University of Manitoba had endorsed.

In other ways the program was unable to meet the objectives of its sponsors. The unbiased, nonpolitical program that the Carnegie Corporation and the University of Manitoba believed they were sponsoring was in question where groups were directly linked with the CCF as was the case in Cartwright and Pierson, or more often with the government-sponsored MFA. The group in Strathclair exemplified Thomson's failure to keep the groups free from the exclusively economic interpretation of adult education that was entrenched in Progressive rural Manitoba and was often identified with the MFA. Economic education, according to Smith's proposal of 1936 and frequent references to the fact in Thomson's reports, was something that neither the university nor the program directors wished to foster. That they were unable to do so shows the extent to which local ideologies could affect program implementation.

The survey also showed how tenuous many of the groups still were, even after several years of nurturing. Shoal Lake was the most obvious example, and Ochre River was another community that simply did not have the resources to sustain a study group. Only a few groups showed the potential of becoming as well established as the ones in Killarney. This suggests that, in spite of Thomson's tireless visitation schedule, the dispersement goal of the administrators may have been unrealistic in light of local conditions. The late successes in Portage and Gilbert Plains and the increasing contacts with communities in southeastern Manitoba suggests that more time was needed for the program to become well established.

SIX COMMUNITIES WITH ADULT EDUCATION GROUPS

A more extensive look at six communities provides insight into the program from the participants' perspectives. Tilston, Hartney, Souris, Roblin, Flin Flon and Pine Falls each had a local program that was organized by the University of Manitoba. They were distinctly different communities scattered across the province and the shape that the program took in each location varied accordingly. Each local story is based largely on interviews with program participants, except for Souris where a mixture of sources including interviews and the local newspaper were available.

Tilston

In 1940 the board of the Tilston Pool Elevator selected its youngest member, Ray Jones, to represent them at the university short course in Winnipeg. Upon his return a study group was organized. Tilston was a small hamlet with a school, two churches, a general store and a bank, that served what was a well populated farming region at that time, in the southwest corner of the province. This most arid of regions suffered severely from the Depression.

Ray and his wife Lottie recalled the days when nothing but Russian thistle grew in Tilston, and after the rains brought some relief in 1935, an invasion of grasshoppers "cleaned off the land as smooth as a floor."[33] The Depression was a time when Lottie was paid as little as $5.00 a month plus board as a domestic, and farmers were unable to feed their livestock. Ray and his brothers drove their cattle 140 miles north to provide them with feed, and then ended up selling the entire herd for $275.00. The people themselves would not have survived without carloads of food and clothing that were shipped in from other parts of Canada. Like thousands of others, Ray Jones rode the rails for several years, and when war was declared he saw many of his friends enlist "for a suit of clothing and something to eat."[34] The war also meant that the area became reasonably prosperous again.

Ray was thirty years old when he attended the short course, and with an

Agriculture Diploma from the University of Manitoba he was somewhat more educated than the average farmer in Tilston. He and Lottie were recently married, and while his four brothers enlisted, Ray remained at home to tend the farm. Although Jones was opposed to war, he was impressed with the short course which had a wartime emphasis. He felt a kinship with Sidney Smith and liked his message that Canadians must learn not only whom they were fighting, but why they were fighting the war. Jones also appreciated Smith's recognition of informal learning as a valid form of education when the president told the group that the most educated man he knew had only eight years of formal schooling. In Watson Thomson, Jones observed an educated, tolerant man who expressed his ideas fluently, and placed a great emphasis on relationships.

The Tilston study group had about eight members, including two teachers, the minister, the storekeeper and his wife, another merchant and two farmers besides Jones. It met once a week in the storekeeper's apartment above the store. In the minds of the members, theirs was a Pool Elevator study group, although they were aware of the university's sponsorship. The group had mixed political views, but Jones saw the purpose of the study group as that of creating social change.

Jones's political views, which included his social definition of adult education, were shaped by the economic conditions in which he had grown up. He had joined the co-operative movement at the age of eighteen and then the CCF as soon as it began. He interpreted the issues addressed in the study group from a CCF perspective, advocating political change. Jones recalled how astounded he was when Finance Minister Rolston was quoted as saying that it was ridiculously easy to raise $2,000,000 a day for war efforts. Earlier, Premier Bracken had asked for a total of $60,000,000 to make the West viable again, and Rolston had replied that there was no money available. For Jones, a study group was a place to discuss ideas on how to change such an unjust system.

This did not mean that the rest of the group agreed. In fact, one of the members was a Conservative woman with strong opinions and an overbearing personality, whose presence, according to Thomson, tended to disrupt any intelligent discussion.[35] Thomson attended a public meeting of the study group in May, 1941, at which time the group members expressed their appreciation for the work of the university. Thomson noted that they had stuck nobly to the course and concluded that there were one or two noble minds among the eight; not spectacular, he decided, but worthwhile. As a people who had been up against hard times, Thomson hoped to be of some service to them.

After he had conducted a film showing there in 1942, Stan Rands' assessment of Tilston was less kind. He reported:

> Tilston has suffered from the depression. The people feel isolated, both geographically and in interests. This is evidenced by the attitude toward the plebiscite, for their determination to vote "no" was due far less to any rational reasons, than to a feeling of grievance and a lack of any real identification of themselves with Canada as a whole. These are chiefly Anglo-Saxons. It is not only the recent Europeans who need to be Canadianized![36]

Jones himself was aware of the attitudes that Rands encountered, although he would have considered Rands' judgement too harsh. He recalled a subsequent NFB fieldman who got quite provoked when his efforts to evoke discussion after the film showings in Tilston failed. As Jones recalled it, the people were not interested in the long term issues of the war; they simply wanted the facts. This fieldman, who was a CCF supporter, was not allowed to express his political views as an agent of the NFB but if he had, his largely Conservative and Liberal audience would not have shown much interest, according to Jones.

In spite of Thomson, Rands and Jones' rather negative assessments of these attempts at citizenship education in Tilston, it appears that the study group did serve a worthwhile purpose. Its members were not highly educated, but they represented what Jones called the "intelligentsia" of the community and the study group provided them with a measure of mental stimulation and growth. Jones and other residents of Tilston had access to the Pool Elevator's lending library and the occasional study groups, but these were the only means of further education for adults in Tilston at the time that the university introduced its program. For Jones the university sponsored study group was also the beginning of a long process of creating a better world order.

"If you could get people reading, thinking and discussing their problems" he said, "you had made a start,"[37] and in his opinion the university had provided the medium to do so.

Hartney

Sixty kilometres almost directly east of Tilston lies the small town of Hartney. Hartney is an attractive town with huge trees bordering a street of large, square, two-storey, stone houses. It was settled in 1882 by a homogeneous group of English-speaking settlers from Ontario. "Very snobbish," said long-time resident Irene Hill, who was also a member of the study group that was organized there in 1942.[38] During the 1940s, Hartney was small, but very much alive. It had musical festivals, a band, a music teacher who came in to give music lessons and an active drama group, directed by Irene's mother.

In 1942 Irene had recently returned to Hartney from Toronto to carry on the family business after her father's death, and to look after her aging mother. After studying at the University of Toronto and then working in the university library for twelve years, Irene missed city life. She was always looking for something that would interest her, "something more than the local gossip."[39] When her friend Murray L. Macdonald invited her to join a study group, sponsored by the University of Manitoba, she accepted readily.

Macdonald had grown up in Hartney as well, and was now the municipal secretary. He was thirtyish, single and a "bit of a sore thumb in the community," meaning that few people had the same interests as he did.[40] He had some university education, and was interested in classical music, drama and English literature. Quite contrary to Thomson's wishes, Macdonald "chose" for the study group people who he thought could make the kind of contribution he had in mind. His reason for organizing the group was also contrary to Thomson's goals. "He always wanted something that was away from the small town," was how Irene put it. For her, too, its appeal lay in the fact that it was "something a little bit different than the usual," and for both of the two educated adults it was an opportunity "to stretch their brains a little bit."[41]

The Hartney study group met once a week at the Hill residence or in the municipal office. They selected "The Northern Plains" for their study guide, and from the course content it is certain that the group addressed social issues in the process. According to authors of the course, the Palliser Triangle was a unique region of a precarious geographic nature that required the creative co-operation of its inhabitants if they wished to survive. The most sensible way of accomplishing this was to organize in a manner that was appropriate to the environment instead of using eastern methods that had proved ineffective in the West. The course advocated centralized planning and co-operative methods of farming. It also stressed the need for thoughtful, informed citizens who could provide local input in the centralized planning process.[42]

The Hartney group was one that took the study component of the program at least as seriously as discussion, and Irene faithfully completed the assignments each week. These included such projects as investigating the annual rainfall of the region over the previous ten years, mapping its natural resources and compiling a set of statistics about the extent that technology was used in Hartney. In a chapter on the nature of community life, the group concluded that for the soldiers returning from the war, Hartney could provide clerical, farm, banking and dental work, but for those who would be seeking adventure upon their return, Hartney would have little to offer.[43] In a chapter on land ownership, the authors pointed out that the commonly held view that private ownership provided security, personal power and incentive and that private ownership was essential in a democracy, did not necessarily hold true in the Northern Plains. Irene's assignment was to check out the extent of security that residents of Hartney had experienced through private ownership.

In spite of their serious study, Thomson described the Hartney group as an unenterprising group of town intelligentsia, rather middle class and fairly smug and exclusive, who did not entirely grasp the economics of the course.[44] While Irene's description of Murray Macdonald, not to mention herself, to some extent confirms Thomson's assessment of elitism, the winter's session also had some results that

Thomson appears to have overlooked. In addition to the townfolk that he mentioned, the study group included several farmers and the two groups learned from each other. Irene recalled a retired farmer who shared some of his life story of losing property during the Depression, and the group discussed the causes of his hardship. A young farm wife from the group also learned what it meant to operate a business. Irene, who was managing E.A. Hill and Co., which was a series of four general stores, was very conscious of the thousands of dollars worth of unpaid bills that had accumulated during the hard times. In one of the discussions the farm wife let on that she had the idea that some big company supplied all the goods for the store. "After all," she said to Irene, "you didn't have to pay for any of these things that you sold to the farmer." "Oh yes!" replied Irene, "Every cent was paid for!" Encounters like these indicate that group interaction of the kind that Thomson advocated was taking place in spite of the group's exclusiveness.

In conclusion, although the group was quite openly exclusive, it did create changes in attitude and an increased awareness of issues. More importantly, it provided a source of intellectual stimulation for individuals like Irene Hill and Murray Macdonald, a need that was not easily met in a small town like Hartney. Because its goals were quite different from Thomson's, the Hartney group provides an interesting example of the effect that participants had on shaping the program locally to meet their own needs.

Souris

Thirty kilometres northeast of Hartney, attractively situated on the banks of the Souris River, lies the town of Souris. In 1940 it had a population of about 1700 people, mostly of Anglo Saxon origin. It was considered a modern town with good schools and medical services, three churches, recently installed hydro electricity, a sewage disposal system and good transportation connections with Brandon, Regina, Winnipeg and the United States via rail and all weather roads.[45] A large railway centre in town and at least a limited amount of rain during the Depression had left Souris somewhat better off than many of its neighbouring communities. Nonetheless, the outbreak of war brought with it the welcome relief of full employment, much as it had in Tilston.

Unlike Tilston, the people of Souris were highly patriotic. Their response to the war effort, through enlistment or war industry, was so general that Souris faced a serious threat of depopulation. To prevent what the Souris and Glenwood Board of Trade considered impending economic disaster, a committee was struck in 1941 to lobby the government for a Service Flying Training School to be located in Souris.[46] In February G.A.McMorran, editor of the local newspaper and chairman of the Board of Trade, travelled to Ottawa for five days of interviews with government officials. His efforts paid off and construction of the school began in the winter of 1942. Within a few weeks, according to McMorran, there was not an empty building in Souris and everyone was busy.[47] Furthermore, the presence of the airmen during the sober war years added new life to the community, as well as much needed consumer dollars.

Other communities had been in stiff competition for the training school, and the energy with which the Board of Trade tackled and alleviated the depopulation crisis seems to have been typical of the board as well as of the entire community. It was into this positive atmosphere that the University of Manitoba introduced its adult education program in 1942. According to an article in the local newspaper, the purpose of the Souris study groups was "to awaken the people to changes going on around them, and prepare the way for a pleasant return for the soldiers."[48] This was exactly what the program accomplished, but the process had begun in Souris well before the university came on the scene.

Thomson's contact person in Souris was high school principal, Ray Loree, and much of the success that the university experienced in this town was credited to his leadership. Loree was a highly intelligent and educated man, with modern ideas about education.[49] According to one of his teachers, these ideas were sometimes ahead of the staff, who felt that at times Loree did the thinking while the teachers did the work.[50] When Loree left Souris he went to Chicago, where he earned a Ph.D in Mathematics.

Loree's wife, Ellen, was an active community member who organized the first study group in Souris as part of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church. The society was educationally oriented and the study group comprised what one of the participants described as the "readers" in the communities - housewives, several with university degrees, teachers and nurses, among others.[51] Thomson described these women as unusually intelligent and friendly,[52] and Al Wright, former mayor of Souris, recalled the group as representative of a large body of "clever, active ladies, from both town and farm, who were continually involved in various projects in Souris."[53] Ray Loree took on the leadership of a second study group composed of his high school students who used the Citizens' Forum as their study guide.

In December, 1943, Thomson made a second visit to Souris, this time to discuss plans for a weekend conference with the Board of Trade. At the meeting the economically-minded board stipulated that the conference involve the business community, because the university-sponsored program would be suspected of representing the CCF, farmers, radical railway men and transient air force families.[54] The ensuing conference, which took place from March 17 to 19, was very much a joint effort of the Adult Education Office and the Board of Trade.

In a sense this conference typified the entire adult education program in Souris. Its proceedings were a tidy balance of adult education philosophy, methods and resource people and the ever practical, business-minded agenda of the Board of Trade. In the same way the study groups were a mixture of something from the outside, incorporated into well established community institutions such as the high school and the United Church. The results of the conference also exemplified a direct link between improved community life and the program of the Adult Education Office.

The conference was advertised as a joint project of the Adult Education Office, the MFA and the Board of Trade. Speakers from the university were Watson Thomson, Stan Rands, Will Dougall and Professors Waines and Thrift. Other speakers were Ralph Pearson of the government Post-War Planning Committee and

Fawcett Ransom. Ray Loree made the conference arrangements, and study group members and other community leaders participated in the panel discussions.

Six group members reported the conference proceedings in the *The Souris Plaindealer*, as the local newspaper was called. Their detailed reports, on which the following description of the conference is based, portrayed the balance of social and economic adult education that ensued.[55] The first session opened on Friday night with community singing and ended with a film about world hunger and post-war food distribution, followed by a well focused panel discussion. On Saturday morning study group members met for an informal meeting with the conference speakers "as for a friendly chat."[56] Thomson explained the meaning and purpose of adult education, and Rands and Dougall spoke about the use of radio and film. Professor Waines then spoke about federal-provincial relationships, after which five discussion groups were formed. They dealt with such related questions as whether or not centralized government control would alleviate western problems. The evening session dealt with the economics of farming in a world of changing technology, and the idea of factory and co-operative farming was discussed. The group favoured the latter. On Sunday morning thirty members of the Board of Trade, together with Waines, conducted a practical round table discussion on various possibilities for post-war industries in Souris. The need to plan for specific projects was addressed by several speakers that afternoon. The conference closed with a joint church service in the evening, which was attended by members of all three churches, airmen from the training school and many out-of-town-visitors. Watson Thomson's address was rated as the highlight of the evening. At the close of the conference a committee was named to draw up the findings of the sessions and make them available to the community.

The conference had dealt with various issues of a social nature as well as practical topics of immediate relevance. With a total of 300 adults participating, it was considered an unusually successful event by the Board of Trade as well as by the study group members.[57] Thomson, who agreed with their asssessment, attributed the success to the co-operation between the university and the Board of Trade, combined with the ongoing leadership of Ray Loree.[58]

In April, 1944, the work of the conference was followed up by a report to the Board of Trade by the committee that had been appointed at the conference. Among other suggestions, the report recommended that a community survey of post-war rehabilitation prospects be undertaken, further investigation be made into possible post-war industry, a town planning committee be drawn up to consider such projects as better recreation facilities, a library and more paved streets and sidewalks, and that rural electrification be speeded up by conducting a survey of needs.[59] In September the board acted on the first suggestion and appointed a group of three men to conduct a community survey.

During the final year of the Adult Education Office, the Souris groups continued to meet, discuss and report regularly. In January, 1945, Stan Rands met with the study groups as well as with the Board of Trade. Their discussions included plans for a skating rink and a community centre. The final record of the Souris study groups was a petition to the university board protesting the closing of the Adult Education Office in 1945.

This was also the year that the war ended and plans for post-war reconstruction could be implemented. The decade that followed was one of much development, and in Souris the changes corresponded to the plans that had been laid in conjunction with the study groups and the conference of 1944. Between 1946 and 1956 many new homes sprang up in Souris, a new skating rink was built, a new area hospital was built in 1953, the principal streets were hardsurfaced, cement sidewalks were laid, hydro electricity was installed on almost every farm in the area, and the local motor industry was expanded to the point where it employed 50 skilled mechanics. By 1956 the population of Souris had increased to 2000.[60]

In 1944 Rands had suggested to the Board of Trade that the federal government would be most likely to spend money on communities that had well formulated plans. The development that took place in Souris during the first post-war decade was very much part of the improved economic times, but Souris was also well prepared for a positive post-war experience. And the weekend conference, together with the study groups of the Adult Education Office, had been very much part of that preparation.

Study group activities in Souris were closely linked with other community organizations. This resulted in a mixed but very effective form of adult education. Loree's Citizens' Forum group was a form of social education but was academically acceptable to the university. The women's group was both educationally inclined and community-minded and the weekend conference consisted of a balance of social and economic adult education. The latter resulted from the imput from the Board of Trade who deliberately moved the conference away from a social orientation. Ironically the most tangible results of the study groups program were of an economic nature, and were incited by the board, which was not otherwise involved in the adult education program.

Roblin

During the war Roblin was a fair-sized town that served a hinterland of mixed Anglo Saxon and mid-European farms in the parkland region of Manitoba. The MFA was active in this region and in the fall of 1940 it held a folk school in Roblin. Those who participated recall with pleasure the five action-packed days of living, eating and learning together with new and old acquaintances in the basement of the United Church. The folk school was also the beginning of a most positive experience for the Adult Education Office in the Roblin district. Shortly after the school concluded, five of its participants were selected to attend the university's short course, and all five established study groups upon their return. Besides the young people, Mrs. E.V. Brydon, who was a middle-aged, community minded woman from Roblin, took part in Milton Osborne's Arts and Crafts section.

Jean and Jack Mitchell, a brother and sister from the district of Tummel, were two of the young people who attended the short course. Tummel provided a most congenial environment for the group of local young people that the Mitchells organized upon their return. The Mitchell home was known as a place where ministers and teachers were frequently entertained, community gatherings and dances were often held, and where the value of education was recognized.[61] Jean and Jack were graduates of the Roblin High School and, although a high school diploma was not uncommon, the majority of their contemporaries had discontinued their education after grade eleven. Many others left school after grade eight. But then, as Jack Mitchell pointed out, high school was not necessary to be successful in those days.[62]

The Young People's Society of the Tummel United Church, which included many of the MFA youth, made up the study group. As Jean recalled, this group of about 30 young adults provided a lively social life. "We didn't dare miss church," she said, "because this is where the Sunday afternoon events were organized."[63] The Young People's Society also had the good fortune of having excellent ministers to work with during the thirties and forties.[64] In 1941 the minister was Ken McKillop and he assisted the Mitchells in forming a study group which he also joined.

McKillop was only 33 years old himself, and he enjoyed the young people as much as they appreciated him. Jack recalled the minister's "hanging around, talking" for so long after the Sunday service in Tummel that he had to speed along gravel roads on his motorbike - on which he travelled to his various charges - to get to his next service on time. McKillop had come to Roblin in 1938 and found there a congregation whose outlook fitted comfortably with his personal philosophy of church and religion. Church work, he believed, must extend into the community, and in his mind the MFA folk school, various agricultural programs, mechanics, handicrafts and other secular activities were inseparable from religion. At the heart of McKillop's philosophy was education, which he defined as "a state of being led out of oneself."[65] Not only did McKillop's philosophy fit well with his congregation, it was also akin to Watson Thomson's ideology of transformative, communitarian socialism.

Impressed that the university would provide such personal assistance at a considerable distance from Winnipeg, McKillop, on behalf of the study group, invited Watson Thomson for a visit. Thomson arrived in February, 1941 for a what turned out to be a highlight for himself, McKillop and the entire community. The minister had arranged various speaking engagements in the area for Thomson and he found his guest to be "an outstanding person who had the ability to excite the mind of ordinary people."[66] McKillop sensed that Thomson's lectures had given a real boost to the community and he expressed his appreciation in a letter to President Smith:

> We have just enjoyed a most remarkable weekend with Watson Thomson. His keen, analytical, scholarly mind coupled with intense humanitariness puts him in touch not only with the heads, but also with the hearts of all who contact him.[67]

The appreciation was mutual. In an account of his trip to Roblin, Thomson reported to Smith of his visit with the clever, thoughtful, friendly, young minister, and recounted his activities, which had included a trip in McKillop's snowplane - converted from his motorcycle - to the encouraging community of Tummel. About Jean and Jack Mitchell, Thomson remarked that they were "two of the most live and creative young people in the province."[68]

The Tummel study group met every other week in the Mitchell home and spent the alternate weeks studying the material at home. Neither of the Mitchells remembers much about the content of the course, but Jack, who was, and (in 1990) still is, involved in co-operatives, credit unions and community events, believes that something similar is needed today to get people together at the grass roots level. It was easier in those days, he said, because, although there was little money and no place to go, people had time to become involved.[69] Jack also recalled that the study group added some "zip to the usual." For Jean the study group was an extension of her education, which she had always valued. According to McKillop, the Mitchell family had the "ability to use education as a tool with which to view all of life intelligently" and the study group served to sharpen that tool for Jean.[70]

McKillop recalled his years in Roblin as a time of personal growth, and he attributed this in part to Thomson's visit and to the study group of 1941. He also considered the program to have been a milestone in the lives of the young people in terms of broadening their awareness of social issues. One of the highlights for the study group, which also demonstrated their keen interest in citizenship education, was a visit from Rabbi Frank of Winnipeg. The rabbi, whom McKillop described as a broad-minded, liberal man with the outlook of a universal citizen, was invited by the group to speak to the community about world peace and citizenship. The young people were enthralled by his lecture and remained after the meeting to ask questions of Frank until his train left at 1:00 a.m.[71]

Unfortunately, this highly successful group disbanded after the first term because so many of its members enlisted. But the study group was not the only success that the Adult Education Office experienced in Roblin. The arts and crafts groups also thrived here in an unprecedented way, and the two programs had some key figures in common. Jean Mitchell was an instructor in the Youth Employment Program in 1939 and also instructed adult weaving classes. Rev. McKillop was involved in the same program as a wood and metal work instructor. The high school shop, where McKillop taught his course, was also open to the Tummel young people by special arrangement and Jack Mitchell was one of the group who spent long hours in the shop, creating all sorts of crafts. It is not surprising that he should become president of the Roblin Handicraft Society, of which Mrs. E.V. Brydon was a leading member.

Mrs. Brydon was also a member of the Women's Institute, and she is remembered for her "cosmopolitan outlook on life."[72] She was responsible for three crafts groups, involving about 50 people, on which she reported to Milton Osborne. The two most significant groups were a ladie's woodworking class of about eight local elementary school teachers, and a Ukrainian group in Zelena. Mrs. Smychuk, who was acquainted with Mrs. Brydon through a common involvement in the Women's Institute, directed the Ukrainian crafts program.

Community life in the town of Roblin had long been hampered by serious political feuding, and during the war local mid-Europeans were suspected by some of being associated with Nazi activities. Such was not the case in the crafts programs, where the two Women's Institute leaders used the medium of crafts to deliberately counteract divisions. In one of her reports, Mrs. Brydon noted that the crafts group in Roblin was a demonstration of a working democracy, with English, Norwegian, Poles and Ukrainian all working side by side.[73] Her assessment was similar to McKillop's, who observed that "the crafts program in Roblin had a larger vision than simply working with one's hands."[74] A major project of the crafts program was a giant show of ethnic and other crafts, organized by Mrs. Brydon, Mrs. Smychuk and Jack Mitchell. Jack shared Mrs. Brydon's vision of providing opportunities for the two major ethnic groups in the area to get better acquainted with each other. They recognized that in the area of handicrafts, the Ukrainians, who were by and large less well-to-do than their English speaking neighbours, had the upper hand. With the co-operation of Mrs. Smychuk and her group in Zelena, they displayed a great variety of crafts such as ship carving, glove making, harness making, woodworking, paper machier, weaving and a section of mid-European needle and other handwork. A special feature was a demonstration of wool carding, spinning and weaving by the group from Zelena.

Ken McKillop recognized in the show exactly the type of project that would have resulted from the discussions of the study group, and Jack may have conceived of the idea there.[75] It would appear that the craft program served to enhance rural life while at the same time raising the level of citizenship consciousness. This was exactly the type of relationship between program divisions that Sidney Smith had proposed to the Carnegie Corporation in 1936. The crafts program in Roblin remained active for the duration of the Arts and Crafts Division, and likely continued after, since it had already been well established in the community prior to the university program.

The adult education program in Roblin provides an example of an unusually successful integration of various aspects of rural community life. Like Souris, Roblin was a healthy community that was already working toward some of the same goals that the Adult Education Office represented. This provided a secure local base on which the program could be implemented. The MFA, the Women's Institute, and the United Church all co-operated with the university to execute a very successful program. According to McKillop, the success of the program resulted from local conditions but the university program, including Thomson's visit, also "instigated the type of thing that worked in the long run to build a better community and a heightened awareness of citizenship issues."[76] McKillop, whose own philosophy of education had much in common with Thomson's, concluded that in Roblin, "the fruits of [Thomson's] labour paid off."[77]

Flin Flon

On his history making trip to northern Manitoba in 1943, Thomson visited the mining town of Flin Flon and found there a stimulating, open-minded community. Thomson observed that although the president of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was also the mayor of this company town, recent CCF victories had made him sensitive in his politics. Further, Flin Flon was too new to have experienced the Depression and because of the nature of its industry, it was not depopulated by the war. Thomson also found a big demand for adult education in this isolated place, and concluded that the north represented a great opportunity for adult education.[78]

Laura Lewthwaite, a young mother and miner's wife who had come Flin Flon in 1937, joined the Citizens' Forum group that was organized upon Thomson's visit.[79] Laura had graduated from the university in 1937 but had been unable to obtain a teaching position. One day she received an unexpected visit from the Inspector of Schools. He offered her a position as English teacher in the new high school in Flin Flon at an annual salary of $1050. Without further thought Laura replied, "I'll take it. Where's it at?" Although she had never heard of Flin Flon, the salary was twice what she had been unsuccessfully applying for elsewhere and she accepted the position without hesitation.

Laura agreed with Thomson that the north was a place with great potential. Judging from their accomplishments, the staff with whom she worked, was a successful group of professionals. The principal of the high school eventually became principal of the Normal School in Winnipeg; the science teacher became president of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in Flin Flon; and another teacher took on the principalship of a large Winnipeg high school. Laura married a miner and was obligated to give up her teaching position because of a company policy of employing only one wage earner per household.

For Laura another positive aspect of life in Flin Flon was the mixture of people; this made it a "very cosmopolitan place."[80] On religious matters, adherents of the Catholic, Anglican and United churches mixed freely. Laura herself led a Cub group in the Catholic church, sang in the United Church choir, and taught Sunday school and folk dancing in the Anglican church. Her husband sang in any choir that he could. Although Thomson reported some complaints about Mennonites and Slovaks in the community, Laura remembered the mid-Europeans as being hard workers. Obviously some workers were more skilled or educated then others but "everybody that was up there was keen, because they wouldn't have got there in the first place if they hadn't been keen."[81] Nor did age create a barrier, partly because there were no elderly people in Flin Flon, but also because in this northern environment, everyone was on a first name basis, and friendships were close and sincere.

From Laura's description of life in Flin Flon, it appears that some of the main goals that Thomson and others had for rural communities had already been achieved there, before his visit in 1943. Barriers between various groups seemed almost nonexistent and people mixed and communicated freely. And unlike most other communities that were contacted, Flin Flon was still too young to need revitalizing.

Adult education and study groups were familiar concepts to Laura when she join the Citizens' Forum group in 1943. With her teaching background, she valued education for its own sake and was active in various educational groups. In Flin Flon she belonged to the Christian Women's Missionary Society of her church, where women met to study the countries represented in the church's missionary program. Laura felt this was a means by which women's eyes were opened to the outside world. She was also a member of a book club, comprising about twenty-five members. Each member purchased one book which was rotated among the group on a two-week basis. In this way the group provided itself with a year's supply of reading material.

Laura had a history of social adult education as well. During her university days, she had been active in the Student Christian Movement which was then directed by Mr and Mrs. Harry Avison. She had also been involved in a CCF study group under the leadership of J.S. Woodsworth. These associations indicated Laura's interpretation of adult education as an agent of social change.

The Citizens' Forum study group provided a mixture of both aspects of adult education for Laura and her study group in Flin Flon. The group included the secretary of the YWCA, company people, store people, medical people and other miners' wives who were university educated and had given up their jobs upon marriage. Laura considered the broadcasts to be "very current to their lives, a bit political, and definitely controversial."[82] The group listened to both sides of the issue as presented in the broadcasts, came to a group consensus and compiled a report of their opinions. One of the issues that was addressed in Citizens' Forum that had immediate relevance to the young mothers in the group was wartime shortages, because they were having a difficult time getting canned milk and vests for their babies. Laura believed that the reports of the groups' discussions actually had some influence on legislation.

The group in Flin Flon, like others, reflected the environment that contained it. Flin Flon was a "cosmopolitan," youthful, optimistic place where people could express their opinions and feel that their voice was heard. The Citizens' Forum group served as one of many forms of adult education that were a source of intellectual stimulation, and provided something with depth and meaning for members like Laura who had a history of social awareness.

Pine Falls

Three other company towns, Pine Falls, Great Falls and Seven Sister Falls, which are located on the Winnipeg River south of Lake Winnipeg, were contacted in 1941 by Professor Grant. Groups were organized in all three and most of these lasted for several years. Gerry McLeod, who was an employee of the pulp and paper company in Pine Falls, and the study group that he joined there serve as an example of how the university's program was received in this setting. McLeod's story is also unique to this study, in that he himself became an adult educator and his opinions are based upon his experiences both as participant and practitioner.

During the thirties and forties, residents of Pine Falls could get to Winnipeg only by train or boat and in dry weather, by a dirt road. The fact that it was a company town also imposed certain restrictions on the adult education program. In 1941 Grant observed that a sense of civic responsibility was almost completely lacking in Pine Falls because it was a company town.[83] In 1944 Thomson found Citizens' Forum and film forums to be more successful than other study groups here because "activities that were not sponsored by the company did not work in Pine Falls."[84] In 1943 a weekend community school was held in Great Falls, and the following year the members of the Pine Falls study group suggested that a second conference would raise the prestige of their group, which "in spite of the fact that the manager's wife was a member, was regarded as being a 'collection of cranks and reds'".[85]

Gerry McLeod did not consider himself to be either a crank or red, but he was very familiar with the terms and the context in which they were uttered.[86] He was in agreement with Grant and Thomson's assessments about the power of the company and its lack of civic responsibility; according to McLeod, the company literally owned the town. He remembered hearing several times of the secretary treasurer intercepting a company employee who was picking up a delivery from Eaton's at the station, and warning him that if he wished to continue purchasing from Eaton's instead of the company store, he might also prefer to look for a job with Eaton's. Furthermore, although all sincere union men were largely of the same opinion as McLeod, there was a prevailing, "unusual fear of communism, and anything that smacked of socialism took a drumming from the public."[87]

In spite of such attitudes, the company was not all bad. "Nothing like Antigonish," said McLeod. "It was bedrock as far as Nova Scotia was concerned. You couldn't get a living, never mind being able to buy a motor car or an outboard motor."[88] This was not the case in Pine Falls where wages were protected by the union, and the company made an effort to enhance community life. Pine Falls had a beautiful golf course and tennis court, and the company sponsored events like gardening contests and prizes for the most attractive homes, which got people involved in the community.

The study group in Pine Falls was part of an ongoing group that was loosely associated with the United Church. Grant described it as a small but very intelligent and live group, and McLeod likewise recalled that "the study group was never a large one but it was a matter of including the 'thoughtful' or the 'cultured' people of the town."[89] Besides Gerry, Dr. Lane from the church, the first purchasing agent of the company and several other employees made up the group. They were also joined by a "very intelligent, very anti-British" young Irish traveller who had ended up in Pine Falls. His presence in the group was not unusual, for as McLeod recalled, "We had that experience before. You were always starting with the 'have nots' and trying to understand how the 'haves' got it, you see."[90]

In 1941, at the age of thirty, McLeod was still acutely conscious of his own experiences of being a "have not." He had moved to Pine Falls from his Saskatchewan farm at the height of the Depression with nothing except what had been realized at the auction - which wasn't much - and with no assurance of a job. He ended up being unemployed for three years in Pine Falls when the plant shut down, and considered himself fortunate to have access to natural firewood and to keep a company house. Unemployed persons were normally evicted. By 1941 Gerry had worked his way up to the position of secretary to the eleven department superintendents, and personal secretary to the general superintendent of the plant.

Like Ray Jones, Gerry McLeod's experience with poverty had led him to a social definition of adult education, a view that he brought with him to the university sponsored program. In 1937 Mcleod had been involved with the Junior League for Social Reconstruction while taking a secretary training course in Winnipeg. He saw the function of this study group as training young people like himself for future leadership in the task of changing the structure of society to a more equitable one. Such groups also provided a place where "one's batteries could be recharged" at a time when communities were very isolated and life could become lonely.[91]

Gerry McLeod had also been involved in a group in Pine Falls that met to acquire the necessary skills for establishing a credit union. McLeod explained his reason for getting involved in the project: "A number of us were always in revolt against the company town, and as it was, it was the perfect example of capitalism at work exploiting labour if it could."[92] For McLeod it was not only a "revolt" or an effort to improve economic conditions, it was also a matter of citizenship and following the dictates of one's conscience to right the wrongs of an exploitative system, as he became aware of them.

Besides these groups, McLeod had been, and continued to be, involved in ad hoc groups that were pulled together for an evening of discussion. Here you could let off some of the steam that could get you branded as an agitator. To summarize, for McLeod, the purpose of study groups, including the university sponsored group in Pine Falls, was to right social ills, to provide support and a place to express one's personal theories of social change, and to learn from others. McLeod also believed that "honest bedrock" study was an important aspect of the study group method.

He recalled the purpose of the university sponsored program as being to "encourage members to examine themselves and to look inward a little bit." He evaluated it as being "from the top down by way of prepared material, but the group managed its own affairs, and their work was not assessed in any way." The materials were "well gotten up, the questions were pertinent, not lukewarm and they raised issues that hadn't been done before."[93]

In 1943 Gerry enlisted in the army and his association with the study group ended, but his involvement with social adult education was far from over. It would likely be inaccurate to say that the study group of 1941 led McLeod into a career in adult education, but with its close association with the CAAE and the NFB, it was surely a factor in the process. In 1946, not long after he was discharged from the army, McLeod joined the National Film Board as a projectionist and then a field representative, something which he had worked toward since he returned to Canada.

McLeod's first placement with the NFB was in Altona, where he met and learned to respect Jake Siemens, founder of the Manitoba Federation of Co-operatives, and joined the discussion groups of his Mennonite neighbours. McLeod also soon made the acquaintance of Stan Rands and Will Dougall, whose careers had long been part of the adult education movement. These men were always willing to share their "left wing" ideas with anyone - McLeod included - who was willing to listen. It was with the NFB as well that McLeod formed a friendship with the grandson of J.S. Woodsworth who was the supervisor of the film board at the time. McLeod remained with the board as an adult educator until his retirement.

In assessing the results of the study group in Pine Falls, McLeod said that in the long range the group was ineffective in changing the competitive society in which they lived to a co-operative one. The specific effects of the program, however, he compared to the film showings and discussion group he conducted during his career with the NFB, of which he said:

> There is *no* record that it ever did any good. What happens is - I see a film and I am impressed. Then I go on my way, but two months later I see something in the paper which directly parallels this. I have forgotten about the film but I subconsciously have the idea reinforced. So a few experiences like that and then you read an another article and you do something about it. And someone congratulates you, saying "Well where did you get the idea?" "I don't know. Its something I read in this paper." But the point is that the film opened his eyes or opened her mind to a new thought, and you have to be content with that. It's intangible.[94]

McLeod believes that something like the Adult Education Office is needed again today to open people's eyes and minds to the events and conditions around them. This vision for adult education was similar to Watson Thomson's, and the university program in Pine Falls had encouraged what was already part of McLeod's thinking.

CONCLUSION

Comparisons and contrasts among experiences like those of Gerry McLeod and his study group in Pine Falls and the other communities and program participants are readily apparent. Among these, three trends are outstanding. The first observation that can be made is that six contrasting communities implemented six different programs, each reflecting the character of its environment. Tilston was a small hamlet in the most arid southwest corner of Manitoba that had suffered seriously from the Depression. These conditions were typified in the small study group hampered by disunity. Murray Macdonald's group reflected the cultured homogeneous Anglo Saxon community that Hartney was. Souris was a healthy community with a large group of educated people and strong economic leadership in the Board of Trade. Here the study groups and the highly successful weekend conference reflected both of these characteristics. In Roblin the study group together with the crafts program were part of a well integrated community with strong local organizations in place. These provided the appropriate leadership for a program that was designed to create a thoughtful and creative citizenship. Flin Flon had not felt the effects of the Depression and did not suffer from wartime depopulation. It was a broad-minded place where groups intermingled freely. Its study group was one of several media through which these characteristics were asserted. Pine Falls with its heavy-handed company control was the setting for a study group of serious company employees who hoped to change social conditions. In each case the ultimate shape of the local program of the Adult Education Office, whether or not it reflected the goals of the sponsors and directors, appears to have been largely determined by local conditions.

Secondly, while the character of their home communities showed much contrast, the men and women who participated in the program of the University of Manitoba were a rather homogeneous group. They were, without exception, the members of their communities with the highest formal education. Most were also in leadership positions and many were, or became, educators. Ray Jones was one of the more educated farmers in Tilston and he was on the board of the Pool Elevator. His group comprised what he called the "intelligentsia" of Tilston. Irene Hill was a local business women with a university degree and Murray Macdonald was the municipal secretary who also had some postsecondary education. Ray Loree was an educated and intelligent high school principal whose study group consisted of high school students. Ellen Loree was in charge of a women's group that was described as unusually intelligent and educated. The Mitchells valued education and Jean eventually became a teacher. She and Jack were leaders of what their minister described as a "very aware" youth group. Ken McKillop was an adult educator and community leader in his position as local minister. Laura Lewthwaite was a university educated teacher whose group contained several of what she called the "keen minds" of Flin Flon. Finally, Gerry McLeod began a career as an adult educator with the NFB five years after he participated in a study group comprising the more "thoughtful" or "cultured" community members. Thomson made frequent, similar observations that the program attracted largely the most educated and what he called the socially-conscious adults of rural Manitoba.

A group of educated community leaders could be expected to have the ability to exert a significant amount of influence on a program but the fact that they were such a homogeneous group also speaks of sponsorship control. The pre-designed program that was introduced to the local communities attracted those people for whom it was most appropriate, and this group did not need to alter the program to any great extent to suit their needs.

A third trend, however, suggests that the participants were an important factor in the different forms that the local programs took. All of the participants had a surprisingly clear understanding of the purpose of adult education which they applied to the program in their communities. Ray Jones and Gerry McLeod came into the program steeped in experiences of social adult education, which they brought with them to their study groups. Murray Macdonald deliberately implemented a study group of a liberal character which also suited Irene Hill. Although the other participants cannot be categorized as neatly, they had equally clear philosophies of adult education. Ray and Ellen Loree believed in the value of liberal education, but there was also some suspicion that the Souris groups were associated with the radical elements in town, suggesting that the study groups represented a social definition of adult education. Ken McKillop had views of education and an integrated society not unlike those of Thomson himself, and the Mitchells and Mrs. Brydon applied adult education to enhancing community life, although their vision went beyond the community. Laura Lewthwaite, as a high school English teacher, valued education for its own sake but interpreted the purpose of Citizens' Forum against her background in social adult education from her student days. These well defined concepts of adult education held by the participants were likely a major factor in the differences that were apparent among the various local programs.

The interaction between these six communities with the program of the University of Manitoba was not unlike that of the communities described in the overview. If the experiences of six communities were indeed representative of the larger picture, then local conditions and people could be said to have had a significant impact on the ultimate shape of the program of the Adult Education Office. While both the sponsors and implementors had been influencial in shaping the program that was offered to rural participants, the program was further shaped at the community level by the needs and philosophies of the participants and by their local circumstances.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 5

1. UMA, UN20, 22-1, Smith to Speechly, 06 March 1941.

2. UMA, UN20, 10-1, WT, RSGP, 1941.

3. IBID.

4. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Rands to Smith, 08 May 1942.

5. UMA, UN20, 10-1, WT, RSGP, 1941.

6. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Rands to Smith, 08 May 1942.

7. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Smith to Savage, 21 May 1942.

8. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Thomson to Smith, 02 April 1943.

9. UMA, UN20, 61-6, Rands to Smith, 29 May, 1944.

10. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Dussault to Smith, 14 October 1942.

11. Interview, Irene Gamey, 25 January 1990.

12. UMA, UN20, 22-3, Thomson and Speechly to Smith, 31 April 1941.

13. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Jack Sword to Rands, 29 February 1945.

14. UMA, UN20, 22-3, Thomson to Smith, 20 February 1941.

15. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Thomson to Smith, 23 February 1944.

16. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Sword to Rands, 09 March 1945.

17. UMA, UN20, 36-4, Thomson to Smith, 30 October 1944.

18. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Sword to Rands, 03 February 1945.

19. Strathclair, Our Story. Brandon: Rural Municipality of Strathclair, 1970, p. 80.

20. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Sword to Rands, 23 January 1945.

21. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Rands to Thomson, 21 January 1944.

22. UMA, UN20, 7-15, Newspaper clipping in Scrapbook, 09 March 1944.

23. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Thomson to Smith, 13 March 1944.

24. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Thomson to Smith, 12 April 1943.

25. IBID.

26. UMA, UN20, 10-1, WT, RSGP, 1941.

27. IBID.

28. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Rands to Smith, 08 May 1942.

29. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Thomson to Smith, 22 March 1943.

30. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Thomson to Smith, 23 November 1943.

31. UMA, UN20, 61-4, Thomson to Smith, 19 April 1944.

32. UMA, UN20, 7-15, Clipping in Scrapbook.

33. Interview, Ray Jones.

34. IBID.

35. UMA, UN20, 22-3, Thomson to Smith, 25 May 1941.

36. UMA, UN20, 36-2, Rands to Smith, 08 May 1942.

37. Interview, Ray Jones.

38. Interview, Irene Hill, 27 January 1990.

39. IBID.

40. IBID.

41. IBID.

42. Watson Thomson, C. Kraenzel and C. Craig, The Northern Plains in a World of Change. Canada: Gregory-Cartwright Publishers, 1942.

43. This information is based on Irene Hill's notes in her copy of "Northern Plains."

44. UMA, UN20, 36-1, Thomson to Smith, 15 March 1943.

45. G.A. McMorran, The Souris Plains, From Pemmican to Wheat 1881-1956. Souris: Souris Plaindealer Ltd., 1956, pp. 34-35.

46. IBID, p. 33.

47. IBID.

48. "Community Conference on Post-War Problems Was Highly Successful Event," in The Souris Plaindealer. 22 March 1944.

49. Interview, Anna Walker, 12 August 1990.

50. IBID.

51. IBID.

52. UMA, UN20, 36-3, Thomson to Smith, 14 December 1942.

53. Interview, Al Wright, 08 August 1990.

54. UMA, UN20, 50-3, Thomson to Smith, 08 December 1943.

55. "Community Conference on Post-War Problems Was Highly Successful Event,"

56. IBID.

57. IBID.

58. UMA, UN20, 50-2, Watson Thomson, Report on Souris Weekend Community School.

59. "Special Committee Reports to Board of Trade on Recent Post-War Conference," in Souris Plaindealer, 03 May 1944.

60. G.A. McMorran, The Souris Plains, p. 36.

61. Mrs. Gibson Ritchie, Pioneer History of Tummel. Roblin: The Tummel Ladies Club, 1958, p. 20.

62. Interview, Jack Mitchell, 10 August 1990.

63. Interview, Jean Purdy, 10 August 1990.

64. IBID.

65. Interview, Ken McKillop, 07 April 1991.

66. IBID.

67. UMA, UN20, 22-1, McKillop to Smith, 26 February 1941.

68. UMA, UN20, 22-3, Thomson to Smith, 24 February 1941.

69. Interview, Jack Mitchell.

70. Interview, Ken McKillop.

71. Interview, Ken McKillop.

72. Interviews, Essie Cross, 11 August 1990 and Ken McKillop.

73. UMA, UN20, 10-1, Milton Osborne to Smith, report on Arts and Crafts activities, 1941.

74. Interview, Ken McKillop.

75. Interview, Ken McKillop.

76. IBID.

77. IBID.

78. UMA, UN20, 50-3, Thomson to Smith, 13 December 1943.

79. IBID.

80. Interview, Laura Lewthwaite, 27 January 1990.

81. IBID.

82. IBID.

83. UMA, UN20, 10-1, WT, RSGP, 1941.

84. UMA, UN20, 61-6, Thomson to Smith, 18 May 1944.

85. IBID.

86. Interview, Gerry McLeod, 09 August 1990 and 23 January 1990.

87. IBID.

88. IBID.

89. IBID.

90. IBID.

91. IBID.

92. IBID.

93. IBID.

94. IBID.

CONCLUSION

The story of the Adult Education Office as told in the preceding pages serves as an historical case study of a program resulting from the adult education movement of the 1930s and 40s. As was typical of projects of this period, the Adult Education Office was financially sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, endorsed by the CAAE and locally sponsored by the University of Manitoba. The question of how the sponsorship of these three organizations influenced the shape of the program provided the central theme for the study. By implication, this included a look at the counteractive influence of other factors as well. The theme was explored in terms of the objectives of the sponsors, the success of the implementors in developing a program in keeping with their own definitions of adult education, and the impact of the interaction of the participants with the program. The influence of the setting was also considered.

Conclusions about the extent to which sponsorship shaped the program of the Adult Education Office are apparent at each stage of the implementation process. An immediate observation at the first level was that the sponsorship of the Adult Education Office was not a straightforward matter. Had this been the case, one would have predicted that the program would have been shaped by the American adult education movement as it was conceived by Frederick Keppel and implemented by the AAAE. In this case it would have reflected a philosophy of liberal education and lifelong learning. Any social component in the program would have been directed toward social reproduction rather than structural change of the existing society. It would have been - and it was - implemented by a trusted institution such as a university that would ensure a middle-of-the-road philosophy and professional standards in a program of rural adult education.

The Adult Education Office, however, was also a product of the Canadian adult education movement. It was conceived in 1936 shortly after the inception of the CAAE and implemented in 1940 when the influence of the socialist movement on adult education was escalating. Since 1935 the adult education movement had been under the direction of the charismatic E.A. Corbett. It was largely because of his leadership that the conservative American influence was deflected, allowing the Canadian adult education scene to develop as a movement for social change. Corbett championed the cause of adult education with the religious zeal of his radical social gospel background, which meant that social change and the improvement of the human condition comprised the essence of his interpretation of what adult education should accomplish. In this he was typical of other Canadians in the field.

The CAAE was not an official sponsor of the Adult Education Office, but as the channel through which the Carnegie Corporation grant was directed to the University of Manitoba, it played an integral role at the sponsorship level. As Corbett had deliberately moved the CAAE in the direction of the democratic socialism of the CCF movement, so he channelled Carnegie funding toward that end through the University of Manitoba.

At this point, Corbett's influence on the project was complemented and strengthened by Sidney Earle Smith. As president of the University of Manitoba, he was conscious of the expectations of the Carnegie Corporation and of his own institution, but at the same time he held a social definition of adult education in keeping with the current movement. Like Corbett, he, too, was a charismatic leader and this enabled him to bring considerable influence to bear on the shaping of the Adult Education Office.

The full extent of Corbett and Smith's influence at the sponsorship level can be understood from the description of the implementation of the three divisions of the Adult Education Office. What evolved at this level was a program based almost entirely on Watson Thomson's fairly radical definition of citizenship education which included his personal theory of transformative communitarian socialism. Thomson believed that the rural western community was an ideal size for the implementation of his philosophy. Here study groups would begin to take on social responsibilities which would not only improve relationships and local conditions, but would also function as the basis of a new society. This would eventually culminate in structural change from a divisive, competitive, capitalistic society to a co-operative commonwealth. Centralized planning, which was deemed necessary, would be democratized through citizenship education that would prepare men and women to participate in the decision-making process of the nation. The creation of this new society was Thomson's ultimate goal for the program he implemented. In the Study Groups Division, questions of societal change, such as factory farms and centralized government planning, were addressed. Rural film circuits were enhanced by Stan Rands to include discussions of citizenship responsibilities. Citizens' Forum, which was the most popular choice of study guides, was created with Thomson's assistance at the height of socialist influence on the adult education movement. Weekend conferences served to decentralize the adult education program, but were also meant to equip citizens for local government responsibility.

These program objectives, of course, were quite different from Frederick Keppel's goal for adult education, and also from the University of Manitoba's position of an "unbiased," "non political," public institution of liberal education. The freedom that Thomson had to pursue his single-minded goal in the face of these differences was largely due to the support and trust of President Smith. The extent of the authority that Smith placed in Thomson's hands was demonstrated by the implementation of the Drama Division. Here Edith Sinclair and John Russell designed a program for rural Manitoba much like the one they had conducted in the Evening Institute. The latter was the university's successful extension program of liberal education, and one would have expected Sinclair and Russell's program to meet all the requirements of the sponsors. It treated drama as an art form in the liberal stream of adult education and upheld standards of quality such as the AAAE encouraged.

The program did not meet Thomson's standards of citizenship education, however, and the difference of opinions which resulted led to Sinclair's resignation. She was replaced by a much less assertive Rene Dussault, who carried on a revised drama program that fit well with Thomson's definition of adult education. Throughout the entire process, Smith defended Thomson's position, and the incident demonstrated, perhaps more clearly than any other, the relationship between Smith in his role as sponsor, and Watson Thomson, director and implementor. To a lesser degree, the Arts and Crafts Division illustrated the same point. Although it had the academic elements to make it acceptable to its university sponsor and had potential for rural revitalization, Thomson had little interest in a program that he did not perceive as having citizenship potential. Among other reasons, his attitude caused the Arts and Crafts Division to fail.

As director of the Adult Education Office, Thomson was almost, but not entirely, at liberty to implement a program according to his own philosophy. A plan for the program had been laid before he arrived, based on the requirements of Carnegie sponsorship as well as its suitability for a public university. This meant that the program was to be innovative and experimental, of a rural community development nature, unbiased and non political, and that it would contain an academic component. Smith, himself, favoured a balanced form of citizenship education. Because Thomson was ultimately responsible to the entire university, the program of the Ault Education Office was kept within the framework that had been established before he arrived. Trusted faculty members were involved in writing courses and assisting with visits and weekend conferences; care was taken to present all sides of an issue in the study guides; and Thomson and Rands emphasized the reading and study component of the program. What essentially evolved out of this combination of influences was a program of social adult education, written and delivered at a fairly rigorious academic level.

In 1945, when the final Carnegie grants expired, the influence of Corbett's and Smith's support at the implementation level was again apparent, but this time by its absence. In an ironic twist of timing, the Carnegie Corporation was entirely out of the picture at this critical time when the program was reassessed for further funding. The Canadian grants had been considered, by the corporation, to be part of an experimental period in the development of the field of adult education, and by 1944 this phase was deemed to be over. This meant that Corbett's flare for obtaining and maintaining funding from the American foundation was no longer of any account. Meanwhile President Smith had left for Toronto, so that the University of Manitoba was now the sole sponsor of the Adult Education Office. By 1945 then, it was apparent that the Carnegie Corporation had had some influence on the shaping of the Adult Education Office. Its major impact, however, was its designation of the University of Manitoba as the most appropriate sponsor for a program of rural adult education. The academic nature of the university raised the question of liberal versus social adult education. The issue of social reproduction versus social change also came into question, although the extent of this became evident only after Smith resigned. At this point, the influence of the university, without the former president's support, came to bear on the program. The nature of the program as it had been implemented by Thomson and Rands was now considered inappropriate, and it was suspended. Although other factors affected the board's decision to close the program, the socialist or "political" element that was part of the Adult Education Office was a major one. In this way, the implementors, although they had essentially shaped the entire program, could not sustain their influence without the support of the two leading figures at the sponsorship level. In terms of program permanence then, the sponsors had a significant impact.

The implementation process is not complete until a program has interacted with its participants and their local setting. These components of the program of the Adult Education Office were described in chapters one and five. The province had suffered severely from the Depression, and when the war brought much needed employment, it also depleted many of the rural communities of its leading citizens. Rural Manitobans were by and large an undereducated group, and politically they had turned to progressivism rather than socialism to alleviate their economic conditions. Into this milieu the university introduced a program that was socialist in philosophy and academically rigorous. It did so as an outside force without a request or any input from those who would participate in it.

The extent to which local factors influenced the shape of this program was illustrated by means of a survey of communities contacted, followed by a closer examination of six distinctly different communities that participated in the program. The survey revealed a great diversity of local situations that affected the program.

Different economic conditions, education levels, ethnicities, political orientations, major local industries, responses to the war and the extent of rural isolation all played a part in the type of program that Thomson was able to implement at each location. The survey further illustrated the extent to which local men and women adapted the program to suit their own situations. Groups like the Mennonite co-operative group in Altona, the MFA group in Carman, the Youth Employment Program in Winnipegosis and the Presbyterians in Portage la Prairie are only some examples of how the university program was incorporated into existing settings and given local characteristics.

The six communities further illustrated that six different settings resulted in distinctly different programs, indicating the impact of local conditions on the ultimate shape that the program took on. The men and women who participated in these programs were described in Thomson's reports and in interviews with several of them as being the most educated and thoughtful members of their communities. Each also had a clear understanding of what adult education was to accomplish. Although these characteristics make it very likely that the participants possessed the power to shape a program according to their own definitions of adult education, which indeed each did, the homogeneity of the group also points to sponsorship influence. While the participants were unanimous in their positive assessment of the program either personally, socially or both, they represented a select group of educated and, what Thomson described as "socially aware," adults. A product that attracted only a certain segment of society was the result of the shaping that had taken place before the program was introduced to its participants.

On the other hand, Gerry McLeod's recollection of a top-down program, but one in which the group managed its own affairs, was a typical local response. With their clear definitions of adult education, each participant helped to create a local program accordingly. The contrast between Irene Hill's liberal study group and Gerry McLeod's social one provides perhaps the clearest proof of participants' influence on the shaping of the program.

Local differences also determined the level of success that the program directors were able to report in the different locations. The healthiest communities, Souris and Roblin being two prime examples, had the most successful adult education programs. Towns like Ochre River and Shoal Lake, on the other hand, could not sustain even one small study group. Tilston was a community that struggled with the university program, and Pine Falls had a successful but small group, in an unreceptive environment.

The fact that the program appealed to, and was effective for, a limited audience in spite of its impressive province-wide scope, implies that local influence must be assessed in terms of those who did not participate as well as those who did. The limited response of rural Manitobans was, in a sense, a form of local control in that the university could only bring its influence to bear on those who were willing and able to be influenced. Both the local conditions in which the program of the Adult Education Office was implemented and the men and women who participated altered the shape of the program to fit a diversity of local conditions and personal needs. In a negative sense, those who did not participate indirectly shaped the program as well.

To summarize, then, the Carnegie Corporation, the CAAE and the University of Manitoba, as sponsors of the Adult Education Office, brought their influence to bear in shaping the program they sponsored. Their influence was far from exclusive however. At the sponsorship level, E.A.Corbett and Sidney Smith, whose definition of adult education was part of a larger adult education movement, shifted the program in that direction. This was carried through to the directors, who were given the freedom to implement a program according to their socialist interpretation of what adult education should be and should do. Finally, the communities and participants themselves had their own well defined ideas of the purpose of adult education and they altered the program accordingly. Besides all of these influences, the economic, social and political conditions in which both the university and the rural communities existed had a considerable impact on the ultimate shape of the program.

The participants' perspective was included in this study so that a complete picture of the subject and a full understanding of the issue under investigation could be compiled. The decision to do so raised a further question that cannot be fully addressed in a work of this scope and theme, but needs to at least be identified. This was the issue of how appropriate the university was as a sponsor of rural adult education. It was generally acknowledged by sponsors and implementors, as well as by both participants and non participants, that rural Manitoba was badly in need of revitalization. Although this was also the general goal of the program, it was perceived by only a select group as meeting that need.

Compared to the program at Antigonish where conditions were more severe but otherwise quite similar to those experienced by Ray Jones and many others in Manitoba, the response to the program of the Adult Education Office was indeed very limited. One of the major differences between the two programs was that at Antigonish, economic issues were addressed, while the Manitoba project deliberately avoided this approach. Whether one interpreted it from a liberal perspective as the group in Hartney did or from the social change perspective of the group in Pine Falls, the program of the Adult Education Office was several stages removed from meeting basic economic and needs.

Meanwhile a large majority of rural Manitobans, namely the farmers, had an alternative to turn to in the adult education program of the MFA. This program developed alongside that of the Adult Education Office, but it took an entirely different approach to the problem of rural revitalization. John Friesen described the co-operative movement as "both a way of doing business and of working and living together,"[1] and the MFA program advanced this cause through its study groups, folk schools, the National Radio Farm Forum and community events, not to mention the key function of providing training for the establishment of co-operatives and community projects.

An insight into the popularity of the MFA program over the University of Manitoba's was gained by the researcher while investigating the local effects of the Adult Education Office. A frequent response to questions about the university program was, "No, I don't remember anything about that. We *did* have farm forum, or folk schools, or the MFA ... No, I don't recall anything about the University of

Manitoba." This partiality for the MFA's economic interpretation of adult education was observed by Stan Rands in 1945, when he noted that local input inevitably led to an economic and practical content in community conferences: this led him to question the purpose of adult education under a university sponsorship.[2]

Although this evidence suggests that the University of Manitoba may not have been as appropriate a sponsor of adult education as the Carnegie Corporation considered it to be, Watson Thomson had suggested an alternative role in 1944. He pointed the university in the direction of providing professional training for adult educators, leadership training and overall support for local programs. Based on the characterisitics of the adults who participated in the program, these seem to have been valid suggestions. Time did not allow these recommendations to be implemented, however. The Carnegie interest in the Canadian field discontinued, money was not obtained elsewhere, the war ended without the dreaded return of economic depression and conditions that had led to the intensity of the adult education movement and had given rise to such projects as the Adult Education Office faded. As a result, the program closed before its full potential could be realized.

Meanwhile the issue of the sponsors' influence on and appropriateness to, programs of adult education continues to be debated by modern day adult educators. Their discussions commonly include the related issue of the definition of adult education. This study has shown that during the adult education movement leaders in the field had a "comprehensive understanding of what adult education is to do or accomplish" as Torres aptly described it,[3] and were able to use their definitions to shape a program accordingly. The Adult Education Office, as a product of this movement, demonstrated the influence that adult educators like Corbett, Smith, Thomson and Rands, not to mention the program participants, had on altering the program to fit their definitions. Their vision for adult education provides an example from history for modern adult educators to consider.

This study of the Adult Education Office leaves various related aspects of the program yet to be researched in greater detail. The history of adult education in Manitoba, including the extension work of the University of Manitoba and other rural programs, which could only be dealt with briefly in this work, is one such area. A detailed study of the historical influence of American adult education on Canada, which was limited to the Carnegie Corporation, would make another significant contribution to the history of Canadian adult education. Finally, several components of the Adult Education Office, such as the National Film Board rural circuits and the Citizens' Forum, which were nationally renowned, have been described from an administrative perspective, but the experiences of the participants have not yet been related.

FOOTNOTES - CONCLUSION

1. John Friesen and John Parsey, Manitoba Folk Schools, pp. 12-13.

2. UMA, UN20, 61-5, Stan Rands, Report of Adult Education Office, October 1944 - March 1945.

3. C.A. Torres, "International Perspectives on Adult Education," p. 201.

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